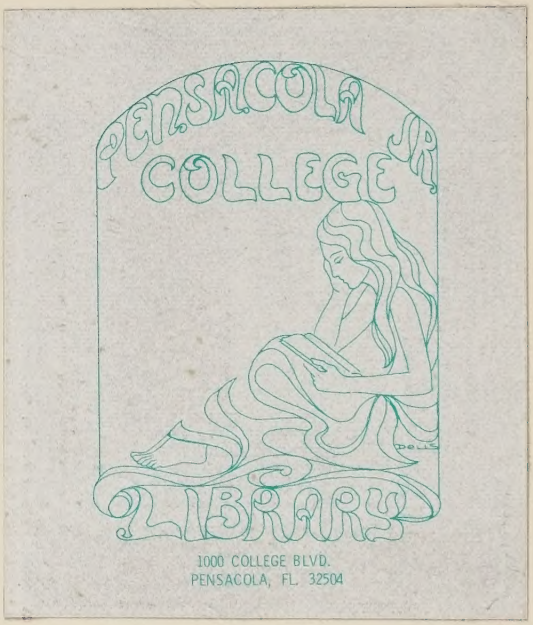

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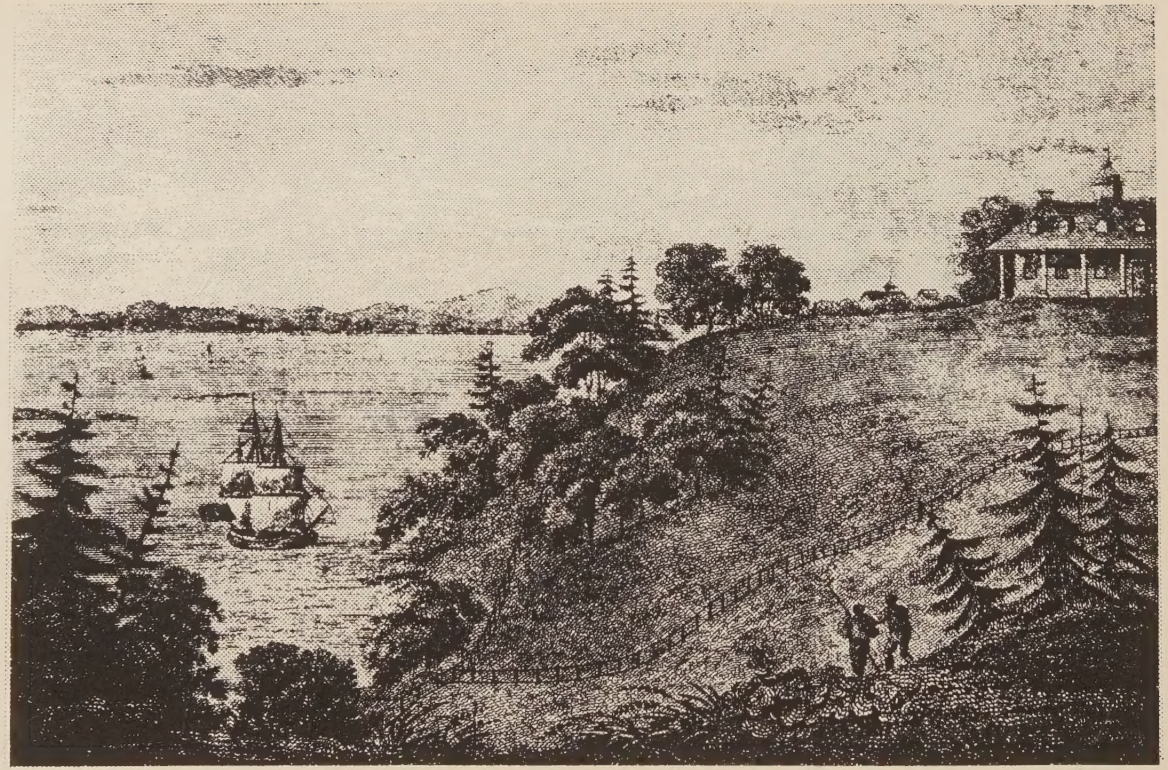
Regents' Edition

THE DIARIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON 1748–1799

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME IV



MOUNT VERNON

THE DIARIES OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON

1748-1799

EDITED BY
JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, A.M.

VOLUME IV
1789-1799

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1789

January 1–February 2

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(See title-page for 1788)

THE DIARIES OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON

1789

JANUARY

Thursday, 1*st.* Went out after breakfast to lay of, or rather to measure, an old field which is intended to be added to Muddy hole Plantation. After which marked out a line for the New Road across from the Tumbling Dam to little Hunting Creek to begin the post and Rail fence on.

In the Evening Mr. Bushrod Washington and his wife, and Miss Polly Blackburn came in.

Sunday, 4*th.* The Revd. Mr. Fairfax came here in the evening and stayed all Night.

Monday, 5*th.* Mr. Fairfax, and Mr. Bushrod Washington and wife, and Miss Blackburn went away after breakfast.

Tuesday, 6*th.* Rid to the Ferry and French's Plantations, and to Dogue Run and Muddy hole.

Wednesday, 7*th.* Went up to the Election of an Elector (for this district) of President and Vice President, when the Candidates polled for being Doctr. Stuart and Colo. Blackburn, the first recd. 216 votes from the Freeholders of this County, and the second 16 votes. Dined with a large Company on Venisen at Page's Tavn. and came home in the evening.

Thursday, 8*th.* Mess. Lund and Lawe. Washington, Mr. Willm. Thompson and Mr. William Peake Dined here. I was at home all day.

Friday, 9th. Finished gathering Corn this day *only* at French's — quantity [ ] Barrels of yellow, which is an indifferent sort — much shrivelled and rotten; [ ] Barrls. of White Corn of the kind had in 1787 from Colo. Richard Henry Lee, and [ ] Barrls. of rotten and faulty. I remained at home all day.

Saturday, 10th. At home all [day].

Monday, 12th. This day sowed Clover and Timothy Seed (6 pints of the first and 2 of the latter on an Acre) at both the Ferry and Muddy hole Plantations, on the Wheat, beginning at the South end of the field at the Ferry and by the Gate at Muddy hole.

Wednesday, 14th. The Sleet, or hail that fell yesterday making a hard crust on the Snow to day, I discontinued sowing grass-seeds as they could not bury themselves, and were liable to be blown of the surface of the Snow and drifted.

Thursday, 15th. Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry and French's, and to Dogue Run and Muddy hole.

Friday, 16th. Brought from Dogue Run Plantation 15 Mares which were supposed to be with fold; and one that was thought not to be so, to the Mansn. Ho. Left 3 there to be added to the Plow horses. Sent one to Muddy hole, and one to the Ferry for the same purpose. And also brot. from the Ferry [ ] Young Horses and Mares to the Mansion House to be fed.

Began to put Ice in the Ice Ho. this day.

Doctr. Craik dined here and returned to Alexandria afterwards.

Saturday, 17th. Rid to the Plantations in the Neck and at Muddy hole.

Monday, 19*th*. Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry and French's, and to Dogue Run and Muddy hole.

At Muddy hole, finding the top of the Snow to be sufficiently softened, I directed the Overseer to renew the sowing of grass Seeds on the Wheat.

Tuesday, 20*th*. At home all day.

Wednesday, 21*st*. At home all day.

Mr. Lund Washington dined here.

Friday, 23*d*. Rid to the Ferry and French's Plantations, and to Dogue Run and Muddy hole.

At the first began to ditch across the New Meadow to inclose, or rather seperate, fields No. 1 and 2.

At Dogue Run the People were fencing in field No. 7.

Doctr. Stuart came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Saturday, 24*th*. Went into the Neck, measured some fields there, and laid off 8 Acres for Tobacco.

Sunday, 25*th*. Colonels Fitzgerald, Lee and Gilpin dined here, and returned to Alexandria in the evening.

Tuesday, 27*th*. At home all day.

Wednesday, 28*th*. Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry and French's and to those at Dogue Run and Muddy hole.

Renewed the Plowing at the two first, in field No. 4 at the Ferry, and finished breaking up field No. 5 at Muddy hole, and began abt. Noon to plow No. 4 for Buck Wheat at the same place.

Major Washington set out for Berkley to see his Father [1] who had informed him of the low state of health in which he was.

[1] Charles Washington.

Thursday, 29*th*. At home all day.

Friday, 30*th*. Visited the Plantations at the Ferry and French's, and Dogue Run and Muddy hole.

At the first two added another Plow to their number.

FEBRUARY

Sunday, 1*st*. Mr. and Mrs. Herbert, Mr. and Mrs. Young, and Mr. George Calvert [1] came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Monday, 2*d*. Mr. Herbert and Mr. Young and their Ladies went away after breakfast.

I went up to the Election of a Representative to Congress for this district. Voted for Richd. Bland Lee,[2] Esqr. dined at Colo. Hooes and returned home in the afternoon.

On my way home met Mr. George Calvert on his way to Abingdon with the Hounds I had lent him: viz. —

Vulcan and Venus, from France;

Ragman and two other dogs, from England;

Dutchess and Doxey, from Philadelpa.

Jupiter and Countess, descended from the French Hounds.

[The entry for February 2, 1789, is the last page in the volume and the whereabouts of the succeeding volume (February 3d to September 30, 1789) is, at present, unknown. It was certainly in existence prior to 1836, as Jared Sparks quotes from it the entry for April 16th, in his *Writings of Washington*. Minus this diary, we are denied Washington's own record of his selection as first President of the United States, the receipt of the notification, his journey to New York, and the first months of the Presidency. From his surviving papers and the expense account it is possible to give a skeleton of events up to April 16th, when he left Mount Vernon.

[1] Son of Benedict Calvert, of Mount Airy.

[2] Lee was elected.

By March 4th, Washington was convinced that there was great likelihood he would be chosen President under the new Constitution, and on that day he applied to Captain Richard Conway, of Alexandria, for a loan of £500, a thing 'I never expected to be driven to — that is, to borrow money on interest.' Owing to 'short crops and other causes not entirely within my control,' he was in debt to numerous people in Alexandria and elsewhere, and it would have been 'exceedingly disagreeable' to him to leave Virginia '(if it shall not be in my power to remain at home in retirement)' without discharging those debts. Two days later he asked Conway for an additional £100, the receipt of which, with the £500, are to be found duly entered in the expense account, along with the items of indebtedness discharged by these means.

March 11th, Washington paid what proved to be his last visit to his mother in Fredericksburg. She died, at the age of eighty-two, the following August.

The electoral votes were counted April 6, 1789, by the United States Congress in New York, and Charles Thomson, the venerable Secretary of the old Continental Congress, was selected to go to Mount Vernon with the official notification of Washington's election. Thomson reached his destination a little after noon, April 14th, and, about one o'clock, standing in the dining-room of Mount Vernon, he delivered to Washington the formal certificate of his election. Thomson's brief remarks on that occasion are preserved, in his own handwriting, in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress. Washington's briefer reply was, later, recorded by Tobias Lear in one of the letter record books of those papers. The expense account shows that Lear and servant Will left Mount Vernon ahead of Washington in the latter part of March, and that Washington and Charles Thomson started for New York April 16th. The diary entry, noted above as quoted by Sparks, adds Colonel David Humphreys to the travelers: 'April 16. — About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with Mr. Thomson and Colo. Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its calls, but with less hope of answering its expectations.' (Sparks, *Writings of Washington* (Boston, 1836), 10. 461.)]

1789

February 3–September 30

Diary missing

1789

October 1–December 31

Original (known as the Joy MS.) is in the Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan. The text here given follows Benson J. Lossing's publication of *The Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791* (Richmond, 1861), which is used by Toner as the above portion (October 1–December 31) of his *Transcript of Washington's Diary*.

1789

OCTOBER

Thursday, 1*st*. Exercised in my carriage in the forenoon.

The following company dined here to-day, viz:

Mr. Reed,[1] of the Senate, Colo. Bland and Mr. Madison,[2] of the House of Representatives, Mr. Osgood[3] and his lady, Colo. Duer,[4] his lady and Miss Brown, Colo. Lewis Morris and lady, lady Christiana Griffin[5] and her daughter, and Judge Duane[6] and Mrs. Greene.[7]

Mr. Thomas Nelson[8] joined my family this day.

Dispatched many of the Com'ns for the Judiciary Judges, Marshalls, and Attorneys this day, with the Acts.[9]

Friday, 2*d*. Dispatching Commissions, etc., as yesterday, for the Judiciary.

The visitors to Mrs. Washington this evening were not numerous.

[1] George Read, United States Senator from Delaware; he had been a delegate to the Continental Congress and to the United States Constitutional Convention. Later he became Chief Justice of the State of Delaware.

[2] Theodorick Bland and James Madison, of Virginia.

[3] Samuel Osgood had been appointed Postmaster-General by Washington in September; he served in that capacity until August, 1791.

[4] William Duer had been a delegate to the Continental Congress from New York. He was a successful merchant and helped Hamilton organize the Treasury Department.

[5] Wife of Cyrus Griffin, of Virginia; she was the daughter of the Earl of Traquair, of Scotland.

[6] James Duane, New York delegate to the Continental Congress, and delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention; Mayor of New York City in 1784 and United States District Judge for the District of New York.

[7] Mrs. Nathanael Greene, widow of General Nathanael Greene. She had been Miss Catherine Littlefield, of Rhode Island.

[8] Son of Governor Thomas Nelson, of Virginia. He acted as a secretary to Washington.

[9] The Judiciary Act to establish the judicial courts of the United States was approved September 24, 1789.

Saturday, 3d. Sat for Mr. Rammage [1] near two hours to-day, who was drawing a miniature Picture of me for Mrs. Washington.

Walked in the afternoon, and sat about two o'clock for Madam de Brehan,[2] to complete a miniature profile of me, which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original.

Sunday, 4th. Went to St. Paul's Chappel [3] in the forenoon. Spent the remainder of the day in writing private letters for to-morrow's Post.

Monday, 5th. Dispatched the Commissions to all the Judges of the Supreme and District Courts; and to the Marshalls and Attorneys — and accompanied them with all the Acts respecting the Judiciary Department.

Exercised on horseback between the hours of 9 and 11 in the forenoon, and between 5 and 6 in the afternoon, on foot.

Had conversation with Colo. Hamilton on the propriety of my making a tour through the Eastern States during the recess of Congress, to acquire knowledge of the face of the Country, the growth and agriculture thereof — and the temper and disposition of the inhabitants towards the new government, who thought it a very desirable plan, and advised it accordingly.

Tuesday, 6th. Exercised in a carriage with Mrs. Washington in the forenoon.

[1] John Ramage, an Irish artist; a reproduction, in black and white, of this miniature is in Bowen's *History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington* (New York, 1892), p. 178.

[2] Madame Bréhan's miniature, which she had begun from memory after her visit to Mount Vernon, in 1788 (see *Diary*, November 2–6, 1788), was finished at this sitting. It was a profile, in white on a drab ground. She crowned the head with a wreath of laurel. Several engraved prints were made from this miniature.

[3] Broadway and Vesey Street.

Conversed with Gen. Knox, Secretary at War, on the above tour, who also recommended it accordingly.

Signed Letters of Instructions to the Governor of the Western Territory [1] respecting the situation of matters in that quarter. And authorized him, in case the hostile disposition of the Indians was such as to make it necessary to call out the Militia, and time would not allow him to give me previous notice of it, to apply to the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania for a number not exceeding 1,500; one thousand of which to be taken from the former, and five hundred from the latter.

Wednesday, 7th. Exercised on horseback, and called on the Vice-President.[2] In the afternoon walked an hour.

Mr. Jay communicated the purpt. of the Instructions received by Sir John Temple,[3] British Consul, from the Duke of Leeds,[4] Secretary for Foreign Affairs, viz.

Trade. How many foreign vessels — of what nations — whether from Europe or their Colonies.

What tonnage — whether any and what difference between *British* and others — what on *American.*

What *Port charges* on foreign vessels — whether any and what difference, etca.

What *duties* on foreign goods — whether any and what difference as to the *Countries* producing, and *vessels* bringing them — number of vessels *built*, where, etca.

Staple Commodities. — Whether they encrease or diminish — which — in what degree — and why.

[1] General Arthur St. Clair. [2] John Adams.

[3] Sir John Temple. He had come to America during the Revolutionary War and been allowed to go from the British lines into New England. He ingratiated himself with several of the Governors; but there is little doubt that he was a secret agent in the employ of Great Britain. His title and appointment to the consulship at New York were a part of his reward for his secret services.

[4] Francis Osborne, Fifth Duke of Leeds, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Pitt, 1783–91. He had been Ambassador to Paris, 1782, and was known as Lord Carmarthen until 1789.

Manufactures — what — where — whether and how encouraged.

Emigrations — From *Europe*, in what numbers — from where — whether and how encouraged, etca. — from *United States* — to British and Spanish territories, etca.

Population — whether generally, or partially encreasing, or diminishing, and from what causes.

Justice — Whether there be any, and what obstructions, and where, to the recovery of British Debts according to treaty.[1]

Upon consulting Mr. Jay on the propriety of my intended tour into the Eastern States, he highly approved of it, but observed, a similar visit w'd be expected by those of the Southern.

With the same gentleman I had conversation on the propriety of tak'g informal means of ascertaining the views of the British Court with respect to our Western Posts in their possession,[2] and to a Commercial treaty.[3] He thought steps of this sort advisable, and mentioned as a fit person for this purpose, a Doctr. Bancroft,[4] as a man in whom entire confidence might be placed.

Colo. Hamilton on the same subject highly approved of the measure, but thought Mr. Gouv'r Morris well qualified.

[1] Articles IV and V of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 1783, provided that the creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery in full value in sterling money of all *bona-fide* debts, nor in the prosecution of just claims.

[2] Oswego, Erie, and Detroit were still held by the British, in defiance of their treaty obligations, on the plea that as our Government, prior to 1789, had been powerless to live up to its obligations, Great Britain was exempt from living up to hers.

[3] Great Britain had refused, in 1785, to enter into a commercial treaty with the old Continental Congress.

[4] Dr. Edward Bancroft, who acted as secretary to the American Commissioners in Paris during the Revolution. It is now conclusively established that he was, at that time, serving as a secret agent in the pay of Great Britain.

Thursday, 8th. Mr. Gardoqui[1] took leave, proposing to embark to-morrow for Spain. The following company dined with me today, viz: The Vice-President,[2] his lady and son and her niece, with their son-in-law, Colo. Smith[3] and his lady — Governor Clinton[4] and his two eldest daughters — Mr. Dalton[5] and his lady, their son-in-law, Mr. Dubois, and his lady, and their other three daughters.

In the evening, the Count de Moustier and Madam de Brehan came in and sat an hour.

Mr. Madison took his leave to-day. He saw no impropriety in my trip to the eastward; but with respect to the private agent to ascertain the disposition of the British Court with respect to the Western Posts and a Commercial treaty, he thought if the necessity did not press, it would be better to wait the arrival of Mr. Jefferson,[6] who might be able to give the information wanted on this head — and with me thought that if Mr. Gouv'r Morris was employed in this business, it would be a commitment for his appointment as Minister, if one should be sent to that Court, or wanted at Versailles in place of Mr. Jefferson, and moreover if either of these was his wish, whether his representations might not be made with an eye to it. He thought with Colo. Hamilton, and as Mr. Jay also does, that Mr. Morris is a man of superior talents — but with the latter that his imagination sometimes runs ahead of his judgment — that his manners before he is known, and where known, had created opinions of himself that were not favourable to him, and which he did not merit.

[1] Don Diego de Gardoqui, Encargado de Negocios, and Minister of his Catholic Majesty to the United States.

[2] John Adams, Abigail Adams, and, probably, John Quincy Adams.

[3] William Stephens Smith married Abigail, the daughter of John Adams.

[4] Governor George Clinton.

[5] Tristram Dalton, Senator from Massachusetts; he served until March 3, 1791.

[6] From France.

Friday, 9*th*. Exercised on horseback between the hours of 9 and 11. Visited in my route the gardens of Mr. Perry and Mr. Williamson.[1]

Received from the French Minister,[2] in person, official notice of his having recd. leave to return to his Court, and intended embarkation — and the orders of his Court to make the following communication, viz:

That his Majesty was pleased at the alteration which had taken place in our Government, and congratulated this Country on the choice they had made of a Presid't.

He added that *he* should take care to make a favourable representation of the present state of things here to his Master, who, he doubted not, would be much pleased therewith. Hitherto he observed that the Government of this Country had been of so fluctuating a nature, no dependence could be placed on its proceedings; wh'h caused foreign nations to be cautious of entering into Treaties, etca., with the United States. But under the present Government there is a head to look up to — and power being put into the hands of its officers, stability will be derived from its doings.

The visiters this evening to Mrs. Washington were respectable, both of gentlemen and ladies.

Saturday, 10*th*. Pursuant to an engagement formed on Thursday last, I set off about 9 o'clock in my barge [3] to visit Mr. Prince's [4] fruit gardens and shrubberies at Flushing, on Long Island. The Vice-President, Governor of the

[1] The Perry gardens were on the Bloomingdale Road, west of what is now Union Square. David Williamson's was on the east side of Greenwich Street, a few blocks above Harrison.

[2] François, Comte de Moustier.

[3] This was the barge which had been specially built to convey Washington across to New York, when he came to be inaugurated as President. It was, after that, presented to him.

[4] William Prince, son of William Prince, who had laid out the gardens in 1750.

State,[1] Mr. Izard,[2] Colo. Smith,[3] and Majr. Jackson [4] accompanied me.

These gardens, except in the number of young fruit trees, did not answer my expectations. The shrubs were trifling, and the flowers not numerous.

The inhabitants of this place shewed us what respect they could, by making the best use of one cannon to salute.

On our return we stopped at the seats of General [5] and Mr. Gouvernr. Morris, and viewed a barn, of which I had heard the latter speak much, belonging to his farm — but it was not of a construction to strike my fancy — nor did the conveniences of it at all answer their cost. From hence we proceeded to Harlaem, where we were met by Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Smith.[6] Dined at the tavern kept by a Capt. Mariner,[7] and came home in the evening.

Sunday, 11*th*. At home all day — writing private letters.

Monday, 12*th*. Received the compliments of the Count de Penthere, commanding his most Christian Majesty's Squadron in the harbour of Boston — these were sent by the Marquis de Traversy in the Active Frigate; who, with all his officers were presented by the French Minister at one o'clock.

[1] Governor George Clinton. [2] Ralph Izard.
[3] Colonel William Stephens Smith.
[4] Major William Jackson, then acting as a secretary to Washington.
[5] General Lewis Morris, the Signer. He had been brigadier-general of New York militia, as well as delegate to the Continental Congress. He was half-brother to Gouverneur Morris. His seat was at Morrisania, easily reached from Long Island by crossing the East River and going a short distance up the Harlem. General Morris died in 1798.
[6] Mrs. John Adams and Mrs. William Stephens Smith.
[7] Captain William Marriner, kept a tavern at Harlem. (Baker, *Washington after the Revolution.*)

Tuesday, 13*th*. At two o'clock received the Address from the People called Quakers.[1]

A good many gentlemen attended the Levee [2] this day.

Wednesday, 14*th*. Wrote several letters to France, and about 7 o'clock in the afternoon made an informal visit with Mrs. Washington to the Count de Moustier and Madame de Brehan, to take leave of them. Into the hands of the former I committed these letters, viz: to the Count de Estaing, Count de Rochambeau, the Marqs. de la Fayette and the Marqs. de la Rouirie.[3]

Having resolved to write to Mr. Gouvr. Morris, to request as a private agent that he wd. sound the intention of the British Ministry with respect to their fulfilment of the Treaty — and dispositions towards a Commercial Treaty with us, the letters were prepared and lodged in the hands of Mr. Jay to forward.

Thursday, 15*th*. Commenced my Journey about 9 o'clock for Boston and a tour through the Eastern States.

The Chief Justice, Mr. Jay — and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments [4] accompanied me some distance out of the city. About 10 o'clock it began to Rain, and continued to do so till 11, when we arrived at the house of one Hoyatt,[5] who keeps a Tavern at Kings-bridge,

[1] The Address of the Religious Society called Quakers, from their yearly meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia. It was signed by Nicholas Waln, clerk to the meeting. The Letter Book record copy of this address and Washington's answer thereto, both in the handwriting of William Jackson, are in the Washington Papers, Letter Book No. 29, pp. 152–53.

[2] Tuesdays of each week; the official levees were held in the afternoons.

[3] Charles Armand Tufin, Marquis de la Rouerie, better known as Armand. He commanded a partisan cavalry corps during the Revolution which was known as 'Armand's Legion.'

[4] Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, Secretary of War.

[5] Caleb Hyatt, who had bought the inn from George Dyckman.

where we, that is, Major Jackson, Mr. Lear [1] and myself, with six servants, which composed my Retinue, dined. After dinner, through frequent light showers we proceed'd to the Tavern of a Mrs. Haviland [2] at Rye; who keeps a very neat and decent Inn.

The Road for the greater part, indeed the whole way, was very rough and stoney, but the Land strong, well covered with grass and a luxuriant crop of Indian Corn intermixed with Pompions [3] (which were yet ungathered) in the fields. We met four droves of Beef Cattle for the New York Market, (about 30 in a drove) some of which were very fine — also a flock of Sheep for the same place. We scarcely passed a farm house that did not abd. in Geese.

Their Cattle seemed to be of a good quality, and their hogs large, but rather long legged. No dwelling house is seen without a Stone or Brick Chimney, and rarely any without a shingled roof — *generally* the sides are of shingles also.

The distance of this day's travel was 31 miles, in which we passed through (after leaving the Bridge) East Chester, New Rochelle, and Mamaroneck; but as these places (though they have houses of worship in them) are not regularly laid out, they are scarcely to be distinguished from the intermediate farms, which are very close together — and separated, as one Inclosure from another also is, by fences of stone, which are indeed easily made, as the country is immensely stoney. Upon enquiry we find their crops of Wheat and Rye have been abundant — though of the first they had sown rather sparingly on acct. of the destruction which had of late years been made of that grain by what is called the Hessian fly.[4]

[1] William Jackson and Tobias Lear.

[2] Mrs. Tamar Haviland, widow of Dr. Ebenezer Haviland, a surgeon in the army during the Revolution. The house was known also as 'The Square House,' and later was called 'The Penfield House.' Rye is in Westchester County.

[3] Pumpkins; the term 'pompions' is now obsolete.

[4] This two-winged midge caused great destruction of wheat. It was popularly

Friday, 16th. About 7 o'clock we left the Widow Haviland's, and after passing Horse Neck, six miles distant from Rye, the Road through which is hilly and immensely stoney, and trying to Wheels and Carriages, we breakfasted at Stamford,[1] which is 6 miles further, (at one Webb's [2]) a tolerable good house, but not equal in appearance or reality to Mrs. Haviland's. In this Town are an Episcopal Church and a meeting house. At Norwalk, which is ten miles further, we made a halt to feed our Horses. To the lower end of this town Sea Vessels come, and at the other end are Mills, Stores, and an Episcopal and Presbiterian Church.

From hence to Fairfield, where we dined and lodged, is 12 miles; and part of it very rough Road, but not equal to that thro' Horse Neck. The superb Landscape, however, which is to be seen from the meeting house of the latter is a rich regalia. We found all the Farmers busily employed in gathering, grinding, and expressing the Juice of their apples; the crop of which they say is rather above mediocrity. The average crop of Wheat they add, is about 15 bushels to the acre from their fallow land — often 20, and from that to 25. The Destructive evidences of British cruelty are yet visible both in Norwalk and Fairfield;[3] as there are the chimneys of many burnt houses standing in them yet. The principal export from Norwalk and Fair-

supposed to have been brought to America by the Hessians in the Revolutionary War; it has practically disappeared from the United States.

[1] Stamford, Connecticut.

[2] The building occupying the site of Webb's Tavern, at Main and Bank Streets, is called the 'Washington Building.'

[3] At Norwalk, July 11, 1779, the British burnt one hundred and thirty houses, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, one church, and one meeting-house. The property value was estimated at $166,000. At Fairfield, July 8 and 9, 1779, they burnt ninety-seven houses, sixty-seven barns, forty-eight stores, two meeting-houses, one church, one court-house, one jail, and two schoolhouses. These were valued at $181,000. General Samuel Holden Parsons reported to Washington on the barbarity of the enemy July 14, 1779, and listed the buildings destroyed, July 20th. The originals of both these papers are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

field is Horses and Cattle — salted Beef and Pork — Lumber and Indian Corn, to the West Indies, and in a small degree Wheat and Flour.

Saturday, 17*th*. A little after sun-rise we left Fairfield, and passing through Et. Fairfield breakfasted at Stratford, wch. is ten miles from Fairfield, and is a pretty village on or near Stratford Rivr. The Road between these two places is not on the whole bad (for this country) — in some places very gd., especially through Et. Fairfield, wch. is in a plain, and free from stone.

There are two decent looking Churches in this place, though small, viz: an Episcopal, and Presbyterian or Congregationalist (as they call themselves). At Stratford there is the same. At this place I was received with an effort of Military parade; and was attended to the Ferry, which is near a mile from the center of the Town, by sevl. Gentlemen on horseback. Doctr. Johnson [1] of the Senate, visited me here, being with Mrs. Johnson in this Town, (where he formerly resided). The Ferry is near half a mile; and sometimes much incommoded by winds and cross tides. The navigation for vessels of about 75 Tons extends up to Danby, ten miles higher, where it is said there is a pretty brisk trade. At Stratford they are establishing a manufactory of Duck, and have lately turned out about 400 bolts. From the Ferry it is abt. 3 miles to Milford, which is situated in more uneven and stony grd. than the 3 last villages through wch. we passed. In this place there is but one Church, or in other words, but one steeple — but there are Grist and Saw mills, and a handsome Cascade over the Tumbling dam; but one of the prettiest things of this kind is at Stamford, occasioned also by daming the water for

[1] William Samuel Johnson, United States Senator from Connecticut. He had been a member of the Continental Congress and also of the United States Constitutional Convention.

their mills; it is near 100 yds. in width, and the water now being of a proper height, and the rays of the sun striking upon it as we passed, had a pretty effect upon the foaming water as it fell. From Milford we took the lower road through West haven, part of which was good and part rough, and arrived at New Haven before two o'clock; we had time to walk through several parts of the City before Dinner. By taking the lower Road we missed a Committee of the Assembly, who had been appointed to wait upon and escort me into town — to prepare an address — and to conduct me when I should leave the City as far as they should judge proper. The address [1] was presented at 7 o'clock — and at nine I received another address from the Congregational Clergy [2] of the place. Between the rect. of the two addresses I received the Compliment of a visit from the Govr. Mr. Huntington [3] — the Lieut. Govr. Mr. Wolcott [4] — and the Mayor, Mr. Roger Sherman.[5]

The City of New-haven occupies a good deal of ground, but is thinly, though regularly laid out and built. The number of Souls in it are said to be about 4000. There is an Episcopal Church and 3 Congregational Meeting Houses and a College,[6] in which there are at this time 120 Students under the auspices of Dr. Styles.[7] The Harbour of this place is not good for large vessels — abt. 16 belong to it. The Linnen manufacture does not appear to be of so much

[1] The Address, though from the Legislature, was signed by the Governor, Samuel Huntington. It and Washington's reply are contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] The Address from the Congregational clergy was signed by Dr. Ezra Stiles and four others. It and Washington's reply are to be found as noted above.

[3] Governor Samuel Huntington; he had been President of the Continental Congress.

[4] Lieutenant-Governor Oliver Wolcott; later was Secretary of the United States Treasury, 1795–1800.

[5] Roger Sherman, Signer of the Declaration of Independence. He served as Mayor of New Haven from 1784 until his death, 1793.

[6] Yale College.

[7] Dr. Ezra Stiles was President of Yale from 1778 until his death in 1795.

importance as I had been led to believe. In a word, I could hear but little of it. The Exports from this City are much the same as from Fairfield, etca., and flax seed, (chiefly to New York). The Road from Kingsbridge to this place runs as near the Sound as the Bays and Inlets will allow, but from hence to Hartford it leaves the Sound and runs more to the Northward.

Sunday, 18*th*. Went in the forenoon to the Episcopal Church, and in the afternoon to one of the Congregational Meeting Houses. Attended to the first by the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Edwards,[1] and a Mr. Ingersoll,[2] and to the latter by the Governor, the Lieut. Governor, the Mayor,[3] and Speaker.

These Gentlemen all dined with me, (by invitation,) as did Genl. Huntington,[4] at the House of Mr. Brown, where I lodged, and who keeps a good Tavern. Drank Tea at the Mayor's (Mr. Sherman). Upon further enquiry I find that there has been abt. —— yards of coarse Linnen manufactured at this place since it was established — and that a Glass work is on foot here for the manufacture of Bottles. At 7 o'clock in the evening many Officers of this State, belonging to the late Continental army, called to pay their respects to me. By some of them it was said that the people of this State could, with more ease pay an additional 100,000£. tax this year than what was laid last year.

Monday, 19*th*. Left New-haven at 6 o'clock, and arrived

[1] Pierpont Edwards, Speaker of the Connecticut Assembly.
[2] Jonathan Ingersoll, a member of the Connecticut Assembly.
[3] Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, and Roger Sherman.
[4] Jedidiah Huntington, Brigadier-General, Continental Army. He served throughout the War; was a member of the court-martial that tried Major-General Charles Lee and of the court that convicted Major John André. He had served as Treasurer of Connecticut, and was a member of the United States Constitutional Convention. Washington appointed him Collector of Customs at New London.

at Wallingford (13 miles) by half after 8 o'clock, where we breakfasted, and took a walk through the Town. In coming to it we passed thro' East Haven about midway; after riding along the river of that name 6 miles, on which are extensive marshes now loaded with hay stacks — the ride is very pleasant, but the Road is sandy, which it continues to be within a mile of the Tavern (Carrington's, which is but an ordinary house,) at Wallingford. This and about five miles of the Road beyond — that is west of New-haven — is all the sand we have met with on the journey. These Sandy lands afford but ordinary Crops of Corn — nor have the Crops of this grain East of Stratford River appeared as heavy as on the West side of it. The Lands (Stone being less) are in part enclosed with Posts and Rails. At this place (Wallingford) we see the white Mulberry growing, raised from the seed, to feed the silkworm. We also saw samples of lustring [1] (exceeding good) which had been manufactured from the Cocoon raised in this Town, and silk thread very fine. This, except the weaving, is the work of private families, without interference with other business, and is likely to turn out a beneficial amusement. In the Township of Mansfield they are further advanced in this business. Wallingford has a Church and two meeting houses in it, which stand upon high and pleasant grd. About 10 o'clock we left this place, and at the distance of 8 miles passed through Durham. At one we arrived at Middletown, on Connecticut River, being met two or three miles from it by the respectable Citizens of the place, and escorted in by them. While dinner was getting ready I took a walk round the Town, from the heights of which the prospect is beautiful. Belonging to this place, I was informed (by a Genl. Sage) [2] that there were about 20 sea

[1] Lustring; a plain, glossy, heavy silk.

[2] Comfort Sage; a colonel of militia and of a Connecticut State regiment during the Revolution.

vessels, and to Weathersfield, higher up, 22 — and to Hartford the like number — other places on the River have their proportion, — the whole amounting to about 10,000 Tons.

The Country hereabouts is beautiful and the Lands good. An average Crop of wheat from an acre of fallowed land is estimated at 15 bushels; sometimes they get as high as 25 and 30 bushs. to the acre from the best lands. Indian Corn from 20 to 40 bushls. pr. acre. Their exports are the same as from other places; together with Potash. Having dined, we set out with the same Escort (who conducted us into town) about 3 o'clock for Hartford, and passing through a Parish of Middletown and Weathersfield, we arrived at Harfd. about sundown. At Weathersfield we were met by a party of the Hartford light horse, and a number of Gentlemen from the same place with Colo. Wadsworth [1] at their head, and escorted to Bull's Tavern,[2] where we lodged.

Tuesday, 20*th*. After breakfast, accompanied by Colo. Wadsworth, Mr. Ellsworth [3] and Colo. Jesse Root,[4] I viewed the Wollen Manufactory at this place, which seems to be going on with spirit. Their Broad-cloths are not of the first quality, as yet, but they are good; as are their Coatings, Cassimeres, Serges and Everlastings; of the first, that is, broad-cloth, I ordered a suit [5] to be sent to me at

[1] Jeremiah Wadsworth; had been Commissary-General of the Continental Army during the Revolution; delegate to the Continental Congress, and now was member of Congress from Connecticut.

[2] Frederick Bull.

[3] Oliver Ellsworth, delegate to the Continental Congress, member of the Connecticut Council, Judge of the Superior Court, member of the United States Constitutional Convention, and was now United States Senator. He was chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and Federalist leader of the Senate. He later became Chief Justice of the United States.

[4] Jesse Root; had been delegate to the Continental Congress, and Judge of the Superior Court. He was Chief Justice of Connecticut and acted as such from 1796 to 1807.

[5] Washington wore this suit at Mrs. Washington's reception, January 8, 1790, in New York. (See entry for that date.)

New York — and of the latter a whole piece, to make breeches for my servants. All the parts of this business are performed at the Manufactory except the spinning — this is done by the Country people, who are paid by the cut.

Hartford is more compactly built than Middletown, and contains more souls; the computed number of which amount to about dble. The number of Houses in Middletown are said to be 250 or 60 — these reckoning eight persons to a house, would make two thousand at least. The depth of water which Vessels can bring to the last place, is about ten feet; and is as much as there is over Saybrook bar. From Middletown to Hartford there is not more than 6 feet water. At Middletown there is one Episcopal and two Congregational Churches. In hartford there is none of the first and 2 of the latter.

Dined and drank Tea at Colo. Wadsworth's, and about 7 o'clock received from, and answered the Address of the Town of Hartford.[1]

Wednesday, 21*st*. By promise I was to have Breakfasted at Mr. Ellsworth's at Windsor, on my way to Springfield, but the morning proving very wet, and the rain not ceasing till past 10 o'clock, I did not set out till half after that hour; I called, however, on Mr. Ellsworth and stay'd there near an hour — reached Springfield by 4 o'clock, and while dinner was getting, examined the Continental Stores at this place, which I found in very good order at the buildings (on the hill above the Town) which belong to the United States.

The Barracks (also public property) are going fast to destruction, and in a little time will be no more, without

[1] The Address from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, together with Washington's answer, is entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

repairs. The Elaboratory, wch. seems to be a good building, is in tolerable good repair, and the Powder Magazine, which is of Brick, seems to be in excellent order, and the Powder in it very dry. A Colo. Worthington, Colo. Williams, Adjutant General of the State of Massachusetts,[1] Gen. Shepherd,[2] Mr. Lyman,[3] and many other Gentlemen sat an hour or two with me in the evening at Parson's Tavern,[4] where I lodged, and which is a good House. About 6 miles before I came to Springfield, I left the State of Connecticut, and entered that of Massachusetts. The Distance from Hartford to Springfield is 26 miles — both on Connecticyt River. At the latter the River is crossed in Scows set over with Poles, and is about 80 rod wide. Between the two places is a fall, and ten miles above Springfield is another fall, and others above that again — notwithstanding which much use is made of the navigation for transportation in flats of about five tons burthen. Seven miles on this side Hartford is Windsor, a tolerable pleasant but not a large village. Between Windsor and Suffield you pass through a level, barren and uncultivated plain for several miles. Suffield stands high and pleasant — the Ld. good. From hence you descend again into another plain, where the lands being good are much better cultivated. The whole Road from Hartford to Springfield is level and good, except being too sandy in places — and the Fields enclosed with Posts and Rails generally, there not being much stone. The Crops of Corn, except on the Interval Lands on the River, are more indifferent (tho' not bad) in

[1] William Dennison, Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, with the rank of brigadier.

[2] Major-General William Shepard, of the Massachusetts militia. He had been colonel of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment during the Revolution; he was a Representative from Massachusetts in the United States Congress, 1797–1803.

[3] William Lyman, member of the Massachusetts Senate at this date; later a Representative in the United States Congress and United States Consul at London, 1805–11.

[4] Parson's Tavern was on Elm Street.

the Eastern than we found them in the Western part of the State of Connecticut.

There is a great equality in the People of this State. Few or no opulent men — and no poor — great similitude in their buildings — the general fashion of which is a Chimney (always of Stone or Brick) and door in the middle, with a stair case fronting the latter, running up by the side of the latter [former?] — two flush stories with a very good show of sash and glass windows — the size generally is from 30 to 50 feet in length, and from 20 to 30 in width, exclusive of a back shed, which seems to be added as the family encreases.

The farms, by the contiguity of the Houses, are small, not averaging more than 100 acres. These are worked chiefly by oxen, (which have no other feed than hay,) with a horse and sometimes two before them, both in Plow and Cart. In their light lands and in their sleighs they work Horses, but find them much more expensive than oxen. Springfield is on the East side of Connecticut River; before you come to which a large branch of it called Agawam is crossed by a Bridge. It stands under the Hill on the interval Land, and has only one Meeting house — 28 miles frm. Hartfd.

Thursday, 22*d*. Set out at 7 o'clock; and for the first 8 miles rid over an almost uninhabited Pine plain; much mixed with sand. Then a little before the road descends to Chicopee river it is hilly, rocky and steep, and continues so for several miles; the Country being Stony and Barren; with a mixture of Pine and Oak till we came to Palmer, at the House of one Scott,[1] where we breakfasted; and where the land, though far from good began to mend; to this is called 15 miles — among these Pines, are Ponds of fresh water.

[1] William Scott.

From Palmer to Brookfield, to one Hitchcock's, is 15 miles; part of which is pretty good, and part (crossing the Hills) very bad; but when over, the ground begins to get tolerably good and the Country better cultivated, tho' the Crops of Corn do not look well and have been injured, it is said, by an early frost in September. A beautiful fresh water pond and large, is in the Plain of Brookland [Brookfield?]. The fashion of the Houses are more diversified than in Connecticut, though many are built in their style. The Inclosures have but indifferent fences; wood or stone according as the Country abounds with the latter — of which it is full after passing the pine levels. At Brookland [Brookfield?] we fed the Horses and dispatched an Express which was sent to me by Govr. Hancock [1] — giving notice of the measures he was about to pursue for my reception on the Road, and in Boston — with a request to lodge at his House.

Continued on to Spencer, 10 miles further, through pretty good roads, and lodged at the House of one Jenks,[2] who keeps a pretty good Tavern.

Friday, 23*d*. Commenced our course with the Sun, and passing through Leicester, met some Gentlemen of the Town of Worcester, on the line between it and the former to escort us. Arrived about 10 o'clock at the House of [ ] [3] where we breakfasted — distant from Spencer 12

[1] John Hancock. Washington declined the invitation to lodge at the Governor's house, as he had consistently declined all such invitations from the beginning of the tour. Whether the President knew that the Governor planned to have the Nation's Executive pay him the first visit is not disclosed by the diary. Apparently Washington's first notice of such an idea was on October 24th, the day he arrived in Boston. Hancock did not call upon him and Washington immediately cancelled his previous acceptance to Hancock's informal dinner. The Governor's attempt to demonstrate that a State's Executive maintained official precedence within the State over the President of the Nation was childish and met the defeat it merited from Washington's cold dignity. (See note to entry for October 24th, *post*.)

[2] Isaac Jenks.

[3] Washington breakfasted in Worcester at the public tavern, on Main Street, known as the 'United States Arms.'

miles. Here we were received by a handsome Company of Militia Artillery in Uniform, who saluted with 13 Guns on our Entry and departure. At this place also we met a Committee from the Town of Boston, and an Aid [1] of Majr. Genl. Brooks,[2] of the Middlesex Militia, who had proceeded to this place in order to make some arrangements of Military and other Parade on my way to, and in the Town of, Boston; and to fix with me on the hours at which I should pass through Cambridge, and enter Boston. Finding this ceremony was not to be avoided, though I had made every effort to do it, I named the hour of ten to pass the Militia of the above County at Cambridge — and the hour of 12 for my entrance into Boston, desiring Major Hale, however, to inform Genl. Brooks that as I conceived there was an impropriety in my *reviewing* the Militia, or seeing them perform manoeuvres, otherwise than as a private man,[3] I could do no more than pass along the line; which, if he thought proper, might be under arms to receive me at that time. These matters being settled, the Committee and the Aid (Colo. Hale) set forward on their return — and after breakfast I followed. The same Gentlemen who had escorted me into, conducting me out of Town. On the Line between Worcester and Middlesex I was met by a Troop of light Horse belonging to the latter, who Escorted me to Marlborough, (16 miles) where we dined, and thence to Weston (14 more where we lodged.) At Marlborough we met Mr. Jonathan Jackson,[4] the

[1] Major Joseph Hall.

[2] Major-General John Brooks. He became Governor of Massachusetts, 1816–22.

[3] Washington's refusal to review the militia was undoubtedly given to emphasize a Presidential disclaimer of exercising any authority over a State's forces. The Constitution makes the President commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and the militia when the latter is ordered into national service; but the first President was careful to avoid establishing a precedent, even in so small a matter as this, as it might afterward give rise to embarrassing complications.

[4] Jonathan Jackson was United States Marshal, 1789–91. He was a State

Marshall of this State, who proposed to attend me whilst I remained in it. A good part of the Road from Spencer to Worcester is Hilly, and except a little nearest the latter, very stoney. From Worcester to Marlborough the road is uneven but not bad — and from Marlborh. to Weston it is leveller, with more sand. Between Worcester and Marlborough the Town of Shrewsbury is passed, and between Marlborough and Weston you go through Sudbury. The Country about Worcester and onwards towards Boston is better improved and the lands of better quality than we travelled through yesterday. The Crops it is said have been good. Indian Corn, Rye, Buckwheat and grass — with Beef, Cattle and Pork, are the produce of their Farms.

Saturday, 24*th*. Dressed by Seven o'clock, and set out at eight — at ten we arrived in Cambridge, according to appointment; but most of the Militia having a distance to come, were not in line till after eleven; they made however an excellent appearance, with Genl. Brooks at their Head. At this place the Lieut. Govr. Mr. Saml. Adams,[1] with the the Executive Council, met me and preceeded my entrance into town — which was in every degree flattering and honorable. To pass over the Minutiae of the arrangement for this purpose, it may suffice to say that at the entrance I was welcomed by the Selectmen in a body.[2] Then follow-

Senator; Treasurer of Massachusetts, 1802–06, and of Harvard College from 1807 to his death, in 1810.

[1] Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Adams, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Governor of Massachusetts, 1794–97.

[2] Washington omits mention of the unpleasantness that occurred at this point. A conflict over precedence ensued between the town authorities of Boston and the State authorities of Massachusetts which kept Washington waiting until, losing patience, he was on the point of settling the matter by taking a different route into the town. Governor Hancock, in pursuance of his peculiar idea that the President should pay his respects to the Governor, before the Governor should call on the President, had sent Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Adams to meet Washington at the town limits of the State Capital; but the town author-

ing the Lieut't. Govr. and Council in the order we came from Cambridge, (preceeded by the Town Corps, very handsomely dressed,) we passed through the Citizens classed in their different professions, and under their own banners,[1] till we came to the State House; from which across the Street an Arch was thrown; in the front of which was this Inscription — 'To the Man who unites all hearts' — and on the other — 'To Columbia's favorite Son' — and on one side thereof next the State House, in a pannel decorated with a trophy, composed of the Arms of the United States — of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts — and our French Allies, crowned with a wreath of Laurel, was this Inscription — 'Boston relieved March 17th, 1776.' This Arch was handsomely ornamented, and over the Center of it a Canopy was erected 20 feet high, with the American Eagle perched on the top. After passing through the Arch, and entering the State House at the So. End and ascending to the upper floor and returning to a Balcony at the No. End; three cheers was given by a vast concourse of people who by this time had assembled at the Arch — then

ities claimed the right to welcome the President to the municipality. The Selectmen pointedly observed that they conceived it to be the Governor's privilege to welcome the President at the State's border; but that it was no concern of theirs if he had not exercised this right. It was their privilege to welcome the President to the town and they did not intend to give way, in this, to the State authorities. It had been arranged to greet the President with the children of the town, but under the Governor's orders the sheriff and other mounted officials pushed forward to act as an escort. This proceeding, the appearance of unskilled riders in the midst of the children, caused consternation, confusion, and rage. Washington was on the point of riding off (he had exchanged his chariot for the saddle) when the State officials gave way and the town Selectmen took charge of the entrance ceremony. Later, the Selectmen complained to the Governor that the sheriff had insulted the whole body of Boston's citizens by his conduct on this occasion. The controversy lasted for some time, but Hancock finally declined to take any action until the Selectmen preferred formal charges to the Council. Hancock's letter to the Selectmen to this effect is in the Library of Congress. It is dated December 26, 1789.

[1] There were forty-six trades represented and the leader of each carried a white flag, one yard square, on which was an emblem representative of the craft. A broadside, printed at the time, giving the order of the procession, is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

followed an ode [1] composed in honor of the President; and well sung by a band of select singers — after this three Cheers — followed by the different Professions and Mechanics in the order they were drawn up with their colours through a lane of the People, which had thronged abt. the Arch under which they passed. The Streets, the Doors, windows and tops of the Houses were crowded with well dressed Ladies and Gentlemen. The procession being over, I was conducted to my lodgings at a widow Ingersoll's,[2] (which is a very decent and good house) by the Lieut. Govr. and Council — accompanied by the Vice-President,[3] where they took leave of me. Having engaged yesterday to take an informal dinner with the Govr. to day, but under a full persuasion that he would have waited upon me so soon as I should have arrived — I excused myself upon his not doing it, and informing me thro' his Secretary [4] that he was too much indisposed to do it, being resolved to receive the visit. Dined at my Lodgings, where the Vice-President favoured me with his Company.

Sunday, 25th. Attended Divine Service at the Episcopal Church, whereof Doctor Parker [5] is the Incumbent, in the forenoon, and the Congregational Church of Mr. Thatcher [6] in the afternoon. Dined at my lodgings with the Vice-President. Mr. Bowdoin accompanied me to both

[1] The ode began:

'Behold the man! whom virtues raise
The highest of the patriot throng!'

It was six verses in length and one of the handbill copies, printed at the time, is preserved in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[2] The widow of Joseph Ingersoll. Her house was at the north corner of Tremont and Court Streets. Harrison Grey Otis and Daniel Webster later had law offices in the same building.

[3] The Vice-President of the United States, John Adams.

[4] John Avery, Jr.

[5] Dr. Samuel Parker. The church was old Trinity.

[6] The Reverend Peter Thacher, of the Brattle Street Congregational Church.

Churches. Between the two I received a visit from the Gov'r,[1] who assured me that indisposition alone prevented his doing it yesterday, and that he was still indisposed; but as it had been suggested that he expected to *receive* the visit from the President, which he knew was improper, he was resolved at all haz'ds to pay his Compliments to-day. The Lt. Gov'r [2] and two of the Council, to wit, Heath and Russell,[3] were sent here last night to express the Gov'rs concern that he had not been in a condition to call upon me so soon as I came to Town. I informed them in explicit terms that I should not see the Gov'r unless it was at my own lodgings.

Monday, 26*th*. The day being Rainy and Stormy, myself much disordered by a cold,[4] and inflammation in the left eye, I was prevented from visiting Lexington, (where the first blood in the dispute with G. Brit'n was drawn.) Rec'd the complim'ts of many visits to-day. Mr. Dalton [5] and Genl. Cobb [6] dined with me, and in the Evening drank Tea with Gov'r Hancock, and called upon Mr. Bowdoin [7] on my return to my Lodgings.

Tuesday, 27*th*. At 10 o'clock in the Morning received the visits of the Clergy of the Town. At 11 went to an Ora-

[1] The Governor, swathed in bandages, on account of an alleged attack of the gout, was carried from his chaise into Washington's presence by several stalwart retainers. It seems to have been pretty well understood in Boston that the gout was most opportune as an explanation of Hancock's conduct.

[2] Samuel Adams.

[3] William Heath, formerly major-general, in the Continental Army, and Thomas Russell.

[4] It was claimed, at the time, that Washington caught cold from exposure incident to the delay of October 24th, at the entrance to the town. An epidemic of colds that followed his visit was referred to as the 'Washington influenza.'

[5] Tristram Dalton.

[6] David Cobb. He had been an aide to Washington during the latter part of the Revolution and was one of the three aides who accompanied him to Mount Vernon after Washington resigned his commission at Annapolis.

[7] James Bowdoin.

torio [1] — and between that and 3 o'clock rec'd the Addresses of the Governor and Council — of the Town of Boston — of the President, etca. of Harvard College, and of the Cincinnati of the State; [2] after wch. at 3 o'clock, I dined at a large and elegant Dinner at Fanuiel Hall, given by the Gov'r and Council, and spent the evening at my lodgings. When the Committee from the Town presented their Address it was accompanied with a request (in behalf, they said, of the Ladies,) that I would set to have my Picture taken for the Hall, that others might be copied from it for the use of their respective families. As all the next day was assigned to various purposes, and I was engaged to leave town on Thursday early, I informed them of the impracticability of my doing this, but that I would have it drawn when I returned to New York,[3] if there was a good Painter there — or by Mr. Trumbull when he should arrive, and would send it to them.

Wednesday, 28*th*. Went after an early breakfast, to visit the duck manufacture, which appeared to be carrying on with spirit, and is in a prosperous way. They have manufactured 32 pieces of Duck of 30 or 40 yds. each in a week; and expect in a short time to encrease it to [ ]. They have 28 looms at work, and 14 Girls spinning with Both hands, (the flax being fastened to their waste.) Children (girls)

[1] At King's Chapel. It was in the nature of a concert of sacred music. The invitation, signed by Thomas Bulfinch and Shrimpton Hutchinson, is dated October 18, 1789. It is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The proceeds of the oratorio were to be used to build a portico to the chapel. It is stated that Washington subscribed five guineas.

[2] These and the other addresses and Washington's replies to them are all entered (contemporaneously) in the Washington Letter Books, which are among the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Joseph Willard was then President of Harvard College, and William Eustis signed the address from the Cincinnati, as Vice-President of the State Society of that Order.

[3] The portrait was, however, made from sketches secured by Christian Gülager at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. (See entry in diary for November 3d, and note to same.)

turn the wheels for them, and with this assistance each spinner can turn out 14 lbs. of Thread pr. day when they stick to it, but as they are pd. by the piece, or work they do, there is no other restraint upon them but to come at 8 o'clock in the morning, and return at 6 in the evening. They are the daughters of decayed families, and are girls of Character — none others are admitted. The number of hands now employed in the different parts of the work is [ ] but the Managers expect to encrease them to [ ] This is a work of public utility and private advantage. From hence I went to the Card Manufactory, where I was informed about 900 hands of one kind and for one purpose or another — all kinds of Cards are made; and there are Machines for executing every part of the work in a new and expeditious man'r, especially in cutting and bending the teeth, wch. is done at one stroke. They have made 63,000 pr. of Cards in a year, and can undersell the Imported Cards — nay, Cards of this Manufactory have been smuggled into England. At 11 o'clock I embarked on board the Barge of the illustrious Captn. Penthere Gion,[1] and visited his Ship and the Superb, another 74 Gun Ship in the Harbour of Boston, about 4 miles below the Town. Going and coming I was saluted by the two frigates which lye near the wharves, and by the 74s after I had been on board of them; as also by the 40 Gun Ship which lay in the same range with them. I was also saluted going and coming by the fort [2] on Castle Isld. After my return I dined in a large company at Mr. Bowdoin's, and went to the Assembly in the evening, where (it is said) there were upwards of 100 Ladies. Their appearance was elegant, and many of them very handsome; the Room is small but neat, and well ornamented.

[1] Captain of the French Navy. (See entry under October 12, 1789, where he is called Count de Penthere.)

[2] Fort Adams.

Thursday, 29*th*. Left Boston about 8 o'clock. Passed over the Bridge at Charles-Town, and went to see that at Malden, but proceeded to the College at Cambridge, attended by the Vice-President,[1] Mr. Bowdoin, and a great number of Gentlemen.

At this place I was shown by Mr. Willard, the President, the Philosophical aparatus, and amongst others Pope's Orary[2] (a curious piece of Mechanism for shewing the revolutions of the Sun, Earth, and many other of the Planets), the library, (containing 13,000 volumes,) and a Museum. The Bridges of Charlestown and Malden are useful and noble — doing great credit to the enterprising spirit of the People of this State. From Boston, besides the number of citizens which accompanied me to Cambridge, and many of them from hence to Lynn — the Boston Corps of Horse, with Genl. Titcomb,[3] met me, and conducted me through Marblehead (which is 4 miles out of the way, but I wanted to see it,) to Salem. The chief employment of the People of Marblehead (males) is fishing; about 110 vessels and 800 men and boys are engaged in this business. Their chief export is fish. About 5000 souls are said to be in this place, which has the appearance of antiquity; the Houses are old; the streets dirty; and the common people not very clean. Before we entered the Town we were met and attended by a Com'e, till we were handed over to the Select men, who conducted us, saluted by artillery, into the Town, to the House of a Mrs. Lee,[4] where there was a cold collation prepared; after partaking

[1] John Adams.

[2] Called an Orrery after the Earl of Orrery. It was an invention of one George Graham, and the Earl had a copy of it made for himself from Graham's own machine. The Harvard machine had been presented to the University by James Bowdoin after the fire of 1764. It cost £85 5*s*.

[3] Jonathan Titcomb, brigadier-general, Massachusetts militia, and United States naval officer, of Newburyport.

[4] Wife of Colonel Jeremiah Lee. The Lee house is on the north side of Washington Street and is one of the most pretentious in Marblehead.

of which we visited the Harbour, their fish brakes for curing fish, etca., and then proceeded (first receiving an Address from the Inhabitants [1]) to Salem.

At the Bridge, 2 miles from this Town, we were also met by a Committee,[2] who conducted us by a Brigade of the Militia and one or two handsome Corps in Uniform, through several of the Streets to the Town or Court House, where an Ode in honor of the President was sung, an Address [3] presented to him amidst the acclamations of the People; after which he was conducted to his Lodgings. Rec'd the Compliments of many differ't. classes of People, and in the evening, between 7 and 8 o'clock, went to an Assembly,[4] where there was at least an hundred handsome and well dressed Ladies. Abt. nine I returned to my Lodgings.

The Road from Boston to this place is here and there Stoney, tho' level; it is very pleasant: from most parts you are in sight of the Sea. Meads, arable Land, and Rocky hills are much intermixed — the latter chiefly on the left. The Country seems to be in a manner entirely stripped of wood. The grazing is good — the Houses stand thick. After leaving Cambridge, at the distance of 4 miles, we passed through Mystick — then Malden — next Lynn, where it is said 175,000 pairs of shoes (women's chiefly) have been made in a year by abt. 400 workmen. This is only a row of houses, and not very thick, on each side of the Road. After passing Lynn you enter Marblehead, wch. is 4 miles from Salem. This latter is a neat Town, and said

[1] The Address from the inhabitants of Marblehead was signed, in their behalf, by the Selectmen. The Address and Washington's reply are contemporaneously copied in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] The committee was the same as that which signed the Address: Benjamin Goodhue, John Treadwell, John Fish, Nathan Goodale, and Jacob Ashton.

[3] The Address and Washington's reply are copied in the Washington Letter Books, as above.

[4] The inhabitants of Salem had sent an invitation to Washington, October 23d, to attend an entertainment in the town. The original invitation is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

to contain 8 or 9000 Inhabitants. Its exports are chiefly Fish, Lumber and Provisions. They have in the East India Trade at this time 13 Sail of Vessels.

Friday, 30th. A little after 8 o'clock I set out for Newbury-Port; and in less than 2 miles crossed the Bridge between Salem and Beverly, which makes a handsome appearance, and is upon the same plan of those over Charles and Mistick Rivers; excepting that it has not foot ways as that of the former has. The length of this bridge is 1530 feet, and was built for about £4500, lawful money — a price inconceivably low in my estimation, as there is 18 feet water in the deepest parts of the River over which it is erected. This Bridge is larger than that at Charlestown, but shorter by [ ] feet than the other over Mistick. All of them have draw bridges, by which vessels pass. After passing Beverly, 2 miles, we come to the Cotton Manufactory, which seems to be carrying on with spirit by the Mr. Cabbots [1] (principally). In this Manufactory they have the new Invented Carding and Spinning Machines; one of the first supplies the work, and four of the latter; one of which spins 84 threads at a time by one person. The Cotton is prepared for these Machines by being first (lightly) drawn to a thrd, on the common wheel; there is also another machine for doubling and twisting the threads for particular cloths; this also does many at a time. For winding the Cotton from the Spindles, and preparing it for the warp, there is a Reel which expedites the work greatly. A number of Looms (15 or 16) were at work with spring shuttles, which do more than d'ble work. In short, the whole seemed perfect, and the cotton stuffs w'ch they turn out, excellent of their kind; warp and filling both are now of Cotton. From this place, with escorts of Horses I passed on to Ipswich,

[1] John and George Cabot. The latter became a United States Senator in 1791, and was President of the Hartford Convention, 1814–15.

about 10 miles; at the entrance of which I was met and welcomed by the Select men, and received by a Reg'mt of Militia. At this place I was met by Mr. Dalton and some other Gentlemen from Newbury-port; partook of a cold collation, and proceeded on to the last mentioned place, where I was received with much respect and parade, about 4 o'clock. In the evening there were rockets and some other fireworks — and every other demonstration to welcome me to the Town. This place is pleasantly situated on Merrimack River, and appears to have carried on (here and above) the ship-building business to a grt. extent. The number of souls is estimated at 5000.

Saturday, 31*st*. Left Newbury-port a little after 8 o'clock (first breakfasting with Mr. Dalton), and to avoid a wider ferry, more inconvenient boats, and a piece of heavy sand, we crossed the River at Salisbury, two miles above, and near that further about — and in three miles came to the line wch. divides the State of Massachusetts from that of New Hampshire. Here I took leave of Mr. Dalton and many other private Gentlemen who accompanied me; also of Gen'l Titcomb, who had met me on the line between Middlesex and Essex Counties — Corps of Light Horse, and many officers of Militia — and was rec'd by the President of the State of New Hampshire [1] — the Vice-President; [2] some of the Council — Messrs. Langdon [3] and Wingate [4] of the Senate — Colo. Parker,[5] Marshall of the

[1] John Sullivan, major-general, Continental Army, during the Revolution; commanded the unfortunate Rhode Island expedition, but brilliantly executed the expedition against the Six Nations and broke the power of those Indians forever. He was a firm friend of Washington, and after his military service represented New Hampshire in the Continental Congress and was President of New Hampshire, 1786–89.

[2] John Pickering; later served as Judge of the New Hampshire Supreme Court and Judge of the United States District Court.

[3] John Langdon, President *pro tem.* of the United States Senate.

[4] Paine Wingate, United States Senator.

[5] John Parker, United States Marshal for the New Hampshire District.

State, and many other respectable characters: besides several Troops of well cloathed Horse in handsome Uniforms, and many officers of the Militia also in handsome (white and red) uniforms of the manufacture of the State. With this cavalcade, we proceeded, and arrived before 3 o'clock at Portsmouth where we were received with every token of respect and appearance of cordiality, under a discharge of artillery. The streets, doors and windows were crowded here, as at all the other Places; and, alighting at the Town House, odes [1] were sung and played in honor of the President. The same happened at my entrance into Newburyport — being stopped at my entrance to hear it. From the Town House I went to Colonel Brewster's Ta'n,[2] the place provided for my residence; and asked the President, the Vice-President, the two Senators, the Marshall, and Majr. Gilman [3] to dine with me, which they did; after which I drank Tea at Mr. Langdon's.

NOVEMBER

Sunday, 1*st*. Attended by the President of the State (Genl. Sullivan), Mr. Langdon, and the Marshall, I went in the forenoon to the Episcopal Church, under the incumbency of a Mr. Ogden; [4] and in the afternoon to one of the Presbyterian or Congregational Churches, in which a Mr. Buckminster [5] Preached. Dined at home with the Marshall, and spent the afternoon in my own room writing letters.

[1] An ode composed by Jonathan M. Sewall began: 'Behold he comes! Columbia's pride.' It is given in full in Charles W. Brewster's *Rambles about Portsmouth* (1859), p. 258.

[2] Colonel William Brewster's Tavern.

[3] Major Nicholas Gilman; had been a delegate to the Continental Congress and to the United States Constitutional Convention. Was Representative in the United States Congress, 1789–97, and United States Senator from 1805 until his death, in 1814.

[4] The Reverend John Cosens Ogden; he was pastor of the church from 1786 to 1793.

[5] The Reverend Joseph Buckminster, North Church.

Monday, 2*d*. Having made previous preparations for it, about 8 o'clock, attended by the President, Mr. Langdon, and some other Gentlemen, I went in a boat to view the harbour of Portsmouth; which is well secured against all winds; and from its narrow entrance from the Sea and passage up to the Town, may be perfectly guarded against any approach by water. The anchorage is also good, and the shipping may lay close to the Docks, etca., when at the Town. In my way to the mouth of the Harbour, I stopped at a place called Kittery, in the Province of Maine, the river Piscataqua being the boundary between New Hampshire and it. From hence I went by the old Fort (formerly built while under the English government) on an Island [1] which is at the entrance of the harbour, and where the Light House stands. As we passed this Fort we were saluted by 13 Guns. Having Lines, we proceeded to the Fishing banks a little without the Harbour, and fished for Cod; but it not being a proper time of tide, we only caught two, with w'ch, about 1 o'clock, we returned to Town. Dined at Mr. Langdon's, and drank Tea there, with a large circle of Ladies, and retired a little after seven o'clock. Before dinner I red'd an Address from the Town, presented by the Vice-President; [2] and returned an answer in the Evening to one I had rec'd from Marblehead, and another from the Presbyterian Clergy of the State of Massachusetts and New Hampshire,[3] delivered at Newbury Port; both of which I had been unable to answer before.

Tuesday, 3*d*. Sat two hours in the forenoon for a Mr.

[1] New Castle Island.

[2] The Address was signed by Vice-President John Pickering. It is copied in the Washington Letter Books, as below.

[3] The Ministers and Ruling Elders; delegates to represent the Churches in Massachusetts and New Hampshire which compose the First Presbytery of the Eastward. The Address bears the date of October 28th, and, with Washington's answer, is copied contemporaneously into the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[ ],[1] Painter, of Boston, at the request of Mr. Breck,[2] of that place; who wrote Majr. Jackson [3] that it was an earnest desire of many of the Inhabitants of that Town that he might be indulged. After this setting I called upon President Sullivan, and the mother of Mr. Lear,[4] and having walked through most parts of the Town, returned by 12 o'clock, when I was visited by a Clergyman of the name of Haven,[5] who presented me with an Ear and part of the stalk of the dyeing Corn, and several pieces of Cloth which had been dyed with it, equal to any colours I had ever seen, of various colours. This Corn was blood red, and the rind of the stalk deeply tinged of the same colour.

About 2 o'clock, I received an Address [6] from the Executive of the State of New Hampshire, and in half an hour after dined with them and a large company, at their assembly room, which is one of the best I have seen anywhere in the United States. At half after seven I went to the assembly, where there were about 75 well dressed, and many of them very handsome ladies — among whom (as was also the case at the Salem and Boston assemblies) were a greater proportion with much blacker hair than are usually seen in the Southern States. About nine, I returned to my quarters. Portsmouth, it is said, contains about 5,000 inhabitants. There are some good houses, (among which Colo. Langdon's may be esteemed the first,) but in general they are indifferent, and almost entirely of wood. On wondering at this, as the country is full of stone

[1] Christian Gülager, a Danish artist, who came to America about 1781. He lived in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and died in the latter city in 1827. An engraving of his portrait of Washington is in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1855–58, vol. 3, p. 309), and a reproduction of the painting is in Johnston's *Original Portraits of Washington*.

[2] Samuel Breck. [3] William Jackson. [4] Tobias Lear.

[5] Dr. Samuel Haven.

[6] The Address, which was signed by President John Sullivan, is copied, with Washington's reply, in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

and good clay for bricks, I was told that on acct. of the fogs and damp, they deemed them wholesomer, and for that reason preferred wood buildings. Lumber, fish, and pot-ash, with some provisions, compose the principal articles of export. Ship-building here and at Newburyport, has been carried on to a considerable extent. During and for some time after the war there was an entire stagnation to it; but it is beginning now to revive again. The number of ships belonging to the port are estimated at [ ].

Wednesday, 4*th*. About half after seven I left Portsmouth, quietly, and without any attendance, having earnestly entreated that all parade and ceremony might be avoided on my return. Before ten I reached Exeter, 14 miles distance. This is considered as the second town in New Hampshire, and stands at the head of the tide-water of Piscataqua River; but ships of 3 or 400 tuns are built at it. Above (but in the town) are considerable falls, which supply several grist mills, 2 oyl mills, a slitting mill, and snuff mill. It is a place of some consequence, but does not contain more than 1,000 Inhabitants. A jealousy subsists between this town (where the Legislature alternately sits), and Portsmouth; which, had I known it in time, would have made it necessary to have accepted an invitation to a public dinner, but my arrangements having been otherwise made, I could not. From hence, passing through Kingstown, (6 miles from Exeter) I arrived at Haverhill about half-past two, and stayed all night.[1] Walked through the town, which stands at the head of the tide of Merrimack River, and in a beautiful part of the country. The lands over which I travelled to-day, are pretty much mixed in places with stone — and the growth with pines — till I came near to Haverhill, where they disappeared, and

[1] Haverhill, Massachusetts. Washington lodged at Harrod's Tavern, which has, long since, disappeared.

the land had a more fertile appearance. The whole were pretty well cultivated, but used (principally) for grass and Indian corn. In Haverhill is a Duck manufactory, upon a small but ingenious scale, under the conduct of Colo. [ ].[1] At this manufactory one small person turns a wheel which employs eight spinners, each acting independently of each other, so as to occasion no interruption to the rest if any one of them is stopped — whereas at the Boston manufactory of this article, each spinner has a small girl to turn the wheel. The looms are also somewhat differently constructed from those of the common kind, and upon an improved plan. The inhabit'ts of this small village were well disposed to welcome me to it by every demonstration which could evince their joy.

Thursday, 5th. About sunrise I set out, crossing the Merrimack River at the town, over to the township of Bradford, and in nine miles came to Abbot's tavern, in Andover, where we breakfasted, and met with much attention from Mr. Phillips,[2] President of the Senate of Massachusetts, who accompanied us through Bellariki [3] to Lexington, where I dined, and viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with Great Britain, on the 19th of April, 1775. Here I parted with Mr. Phillips, and proceeded on to Watertown, intending (as I was disappointed by the weather and had bad roads from travelling through the Interior Country to Charlestown, on Connecticut River.) to take what is called the Middle road from Boston. The country from Haverhill to Andover is good, and well cultivated. In and about the latter (which stands

[1] Samuel Blodgett, an inventor. He floated several lottery schemes; became interested in the development of the City of Washington, and attempted to build a canal around the Amoskeag Falls of the Merrimack River, which proved a financial failure.

[2] Samuel Phillips, later Lieutenant-Governor of the State.

[3] Billerica.

high) it is beautiful. A mile or two from it you descend into a pine level, pretty sandy, and mixed with swamps, through which you ride several miles, till you begin to ascend the heights on which the town of Bellarika stands, which is also pleasantly situated 10 miles from Andover. From hence to Lexington — eight miles — and thence to Watertown, eight more, the country is very pleasant, and the roads in general good. We lodged in this place at the house of a Widow Coolidge,[1] near the Bridge, and a very indifferent one it is.

Friday, 6th. A little after seven o'clock, under great appearance of rain or snow, we left Watertown, and passing through Needham (five miles therefrom) breakfasted at Sherburn, which is 14 miles from the former. Then passing through Holliston, 5 miles, Milford 6 more, Menden 4 more, and Uxbridge 6 more, we lodged at one Taft's,[2] 1 mile further; the whole distance of this day's travel being 36 miles. From Watertown, till you get near Needham, the road is very level — about Needham it is hilly — then level again, and the whole pleasant and well cultivated, till you pass Sherburne; between this and Holliston is some hilly and rocky ground, as there is in places onwards to Uxbridge; some of wch. are very bad. Upon the whole it may be called an indifferent road — diversified by good and bad land — cultivated and in woods — some high and barren, and others low, wet and piney. Grass and Indian Corn is the chief produce of the farms. Rye composes a part of the culture of them, but wheat is not grown on account of the blight. The roads in every part of this State are amazingly crooked, to suit the convenience of every

[1] Widow of Nathaniel Coolidge.

[2] Samuel Taft, of Uxbridge. Washington was told, later, that Taft had named one of his sons after him and another after Mrs. Washington's family. Pleased with this and also 'with the modest and innocent looks' of Taft's daughters, the President sent the two girls presents from New York.

man's fields; and the directions you receive from the people equally blind and ignorant; for instead of going to Watertown from Lexington, if we had proceeded to Waltham, we should in 13 miles have saved at least six; the distance from Lexington to Waltham being only 5 miles, and the road from Watertown to Sherburne going within less than two miles of the latter, (i.e. Waltham). The clouds of the morning vanished before the meridian sun, and the afternoon was bright and pleasant. The house in Uxbridge had a good external appearance, (for a tavern) but the owner of it being from home, and the wife sick, we could not gain admittance; which was the reason of my coming on to Taft's; where, though the people were obliging, the entertainment was not very inviting.

Saturday, *7th.* Left Taft's before sunrise, and passing through Douglass wood, breakfasted at one Jacobs' [1] in Thompson, 12 miles distant; not a good house. Bated [2] the horses in Pomfret, at Colo. Grosvenor's,[3] distant 11 miles from Jacobs', and lodged at Squire Perkins' in Ashford, (called 10 miles, but must be 12). The first stage, with a small exception, is intolerable bad road, and a poor and uncultivated country, covered chiefly with woods — the largest of which is called Douglass, at the foot of which, on the east side, is a large pond. Jacobs's is in the State of Connecticut, and here the lands are better, and more highly improved. From hence to Pomfret there is some woods and indifferent land, but in general it is tolerably good, and the farms look well. In and abt. Pomfret they are fine, and from thence to Ashford not bad; but very hilly and much mixed with rock stone. Knowing that General Putnam [4] lived in the Township of Pomfret, I had

[1] John (?) Jacobs.
[2] Baited: to feed while resting.
[3] Thomas Grosvenor.
[4] Major-General Israel Putnam; he was then seventy-one years of age.

hopes of seeing him, and it was one of my inducements for coming this road; but on enquiry in the town I found that he lived 5 miles out of my road, and that without deranging my plan and delaying my journey, I could not do it.

Sunday, 8th. It being contrary to law and disagreeable to the People of this State (Connecticut) to travel on the Sabbath day — and my horses, after passing through such intolerable roads, wanting rest, I stayed at Perkins' tavern (which, by the bye, is not a good one,) all day — and a meeting-house being within few rods of the door, I attended morning and evening service, and heard very lame discourses from a Mr. Pond.[1]

Monday, 9th. Set about 7 o'clock, and for the first 24 miles had hilly, rocky, and disagreeable roads; the remaining 10 was level and good, but in places sandy. Arrived at Hartford a little before four. We passed through Mansfield, (which is a very hilly country, and the township in which they make the greatest qty. of silk of any in the State,) and breakfasted at one Brigham's, in Coventry. Stopped at Woodbridge in Et. Hartford, where the level land is entered upon, and from whence, through East Hartford, the country is pleasant, and the land in places very good; in others sandy and weak. I find by conversing with the farmers along this road, that a medium crop of wheat to the acre is about 15 bushels — of corn, 20 — of oats, the same — and in their strong fresh lands they get as much wheat as they can rye to the acre — but in warm or sandy land the latter yields most. They go more, however, upon grazing than either; and consequently beef; butter and cheese, with pork, are the articles which they carry to market.

[1] The Reverend Enoch Pond.

Tuesday, 10*th*. Left Hartford about 7 o'clock, and took the middle road (instead of the one through Middletown, which I went). — Breakfasted at Worthington, in the township of Berlin, at the house of one Fuller. Bated at Smith's on the plains of Wallingford, 13 miles from Fuller's, which is the distance Fuller's is from Hartford — and got into New Haven which is 13 miles more, about half an hour before sun-down. At this place I met Mr. Gerry,[1] in the stage from New York, who gave me the first cert'n acct. of the health of Mrs. Washington.

Wednesday, 11*th*. Set out about sunrise, and took the upper road to Milford, it being shorter than the lower one through West Haven. Breakfasted at the former. Baited at Fairfield; and dined and lodged at a Maj. Marvin's, 9 miles further; which is not a good house, though the people of it were disposed to do all they could to accommodate me.

Thursday, 12*th*. A little before sunrise we left Marvin's, and breakfasting at Stamford, 13 miles distant, reached the Widow Haviland's 12 miles further; where, on acct. of some lame horses, we remained all night. The badness of these roads having been described as I went, I shall say nothing of them now.

Friday, 13*th*. Left Mrs. Haviland's as soon as we could see the road, and breakfasted at Hoyet's tavern, this side King's-bridge, and between two and three o'clock arrived

[1] Elbridge Gerry, United States Representative in Congress, from Massachusetts; a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and envoy, with John Marshall and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, to France, on the mission that created the so-called 'X Y Z' excitement. He was Governor of Massachusetts in 1810, and the political redistricting of the State in 1812 gave rise to the political slang term 'Gerrymander' to describe an unfair political arrangement of voting districts.

at my house at New York, where I found Mrs. Washington and the rest of the family all well — and it being Mrs. Washington's night to receive visits, a pretty large company of ladies and gentlemen were present.

Saturday, 14*th*. At home all day — except taking a walk round the Battery in the afternoon.

At 4 o'clock received and answered an Address from the President and Corporation of Dartmouth College [1] — and about noon sundry visits.

Sunday, 15*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon — and after returning from thence was visited by Majr. Butler,[2] Majr. Meredith [3] and Mr. Smith,[4] So. Car'a. Received an invitation to attend the Funeral of Mrs. Roosevelt,[5] (the wife of a Senator of this State) but declined complying with it — first because the propriety of accepting any invitation of this sort appeared very questionable — and secondly, (though to do it in this instance might not be improper,) because it might be difficult to discriminate in cases which might thereafter happen.

Monday, 16*th*. The Commissioners,[6] who had returned

[1] John Wheelock; he succeeded his father, Eleazer Wheelock, as President of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1779. He held the presidency until 1815. The Address bears date of August 23d and, with Washington's reply, is contemporaneously copied in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Major Pierce Butler, United States Senator from South Carolina.

[3] Samuel Meredith, first Treasurer of the United States.

[4] William Smith, Representative in the United States Congress from South Carolina.

[5] Mrs. Isaac Roosevelt. Her husband was a Senator in the New York Legislature, and an ancestor of President Theodore Roosevelt.

[6] Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, Colonel David Humphreys, and Cyrus Griffin. The Creeks had refused to negotiate a treaty. Washington continued to press the matter, and through Senator Benjamin Hawkins and Colonel Marinus Willett succeeded in getting Alexander McGillivray and the principal Creek chiefs to visit New York. Henry Knox was then appointed sole commissioner to treat with them, and he successfully terminated a negotiation and signed a

from the proposed treaty with the Creek Indians before me to this city, dined with me to-day, as did their Secretary, Colo. Franks,[1] and young Mr. Lincoln,[2] who accompanied them.

Tuesday, 17*th*. The visitors at the Levee to-day were numerous.

Wednesday, 18*th*. Took a walk in the forenoon, and called upon Mr. Jay on business, but he was not within. On my return, paid Mr. Vaughan,[3] Senr. a visit, informal.

Sent a Commission as District Judge of So. Carolina, to the Hon'ble William Drayton,[4] of that State.

Thursday, 19*th*. The following company dined here to-day, viz. Mrs. Adams, (lady to the Vice-President,) Col. Smith and lady, and Miss Smith,[5] Mrs. Adams's niece — Gov'r Clinton and lady, and Miss Cornelia Clinton[6] — and Maj. Butler, his lady and two daughters.

Friday, 20*th*. The visitors of Gent'n and ladies to Mrs. Washington this evening were numerous and respectable.

Saturday, 21*st*. Received in the afternoon the Report

treaty, August 7, 1790. The Senate confirmed it August 12th, and it was proclaimed August 14th. The correspondence in the matter is in the *American State Papers* (1832), *Indians*, I, p. 79 *et seq*. (See diary entries and notes for February 18 and March 10, 1790, *post*.)

[1] Colonel David S. Franks. He had been aide to Major-General Benedict Arnold during the Revolutionary War. A court of inquiry honorably cleared him of all complicity in Arnold's treason.

[2] Son of General Benjamin Lincoln.

[3] Samuel Vaughan.

[4] William Drayton (1733–90). Royal Chief Justice of East Florida; he was deprived of his office because suspected of sympathy with the Colonists. After the Revolution he became Judge of the South Carolina Admiralty Court.

[5] Daughter of Mrs. Abigail Adams's brother.

[6] Miss Cornelia Clinton; later married Edmund Charles Genêt, Minister from France to the United States.

from the Commissioners appointed to treat with the Southern Indians — gave it one reading — and shall bestow another and more attentive one on it.

Sunday, 22*d*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon — heard a charity sermon for the benefit of the Orphan's School of this city.

Had a good deal of conversation in the evening with the above Commissioners on the more minute part of their transactions at the Treaty with the Creek Indians — and their opinion with respect to the real views of Mr. McGillivray,[1] the principles of whose conduct they think is self-interest, and a dependence for support on Spain. They think also, that having possessed himself of the outlines of the terms he could treat with the United States upon, he wished to postpone the Treaty to see if he could not obtain better from Spain. They think that, though he does not want abilities, he has credit to the full extent of them, and that he is but a short sighted politician. He acknowledges, however, that an alliance between the Creek Nation and the United States is the most natural one, and what they ought to prefer, if to be obtained on equal terms. A *free* post in the latter seems to be a favourite object with him.

Monday, 23*d*. Rid five or six miles between breakfast and dinner. Called upon Mr. Vanberckel[2] and Mrs. Adams.

Tuesday, 24*th*. A good deal of company at the Levee to-day. Went to the play in the evening[3] — sent tickets to

[1] Alexander McGillivray, a half-breed, son of a Scotch Indian trader and the daughter of a Creek chief. He was educated in Charleston, South Carolina, and became the head of the Creek Nation. (See note under entry in diary under November 16, *ante*.)

[2] Peter John Van Berckel, Minister from the United Netherlands to the United States.

[3] The theater was on John Street, near Broadway. The play was *The Toy, or a*

the following ladies and gentlemen and invited them to seats in my box, viz: — Mrs. Adams, (lady of the Vice-President,) Genl. Schuyler [1] and lady, Mr. King [2] and lady, Majr. Butler [3] and lady, Colo. Hamilton [4] and lady, Mrs. Green [5] — all of whom accepted and came, except Mrs. Butler, who was indisposed.

Wednesday, 25*th*. Exercised on horseback between breakfast and dinner — in which, returning, I called upon Mr. Jay and Gen. Knox on business — and made informal visits to the Gov'r,[6] Mr. Izard,[7] Genl. Schuyler, and Mrs. Dalton. The following company dined with me, viz:

Doctr. Johnson [8] and lady and daughter (Mrs. Neely), Mr. Izard and lady and son, Mr. Smith [9] (So. Carolina) and lady, Mr. Kean [10] and lady, and the Chief Justice, Mr. Jay.

After which I went with Mrs. Washington to the dancing assembly, at which I stayed until 10 o'clock.

Thursday, 26*th*. Being the day appointed for a thanksgiving,[11] I went to St. Paul's Chapel, though it was most inclement and stormy — but few people at Church.

Friday, 27*th*. Not many visitors this evening to Mrs. Washington.

Saturday, 28*th*. Exercised on horseback.

Trip to Hampton Court, in which Thomas Wignell acted the principal part. It was followed by *Darby's Return*. (See P. L. Ford's *Washington and the Theatre*.)

[1] Philip Schuyler. [2] Rufus King. [3] Pierce Butler.
[4] Alexander Hamilton. [5] Mrs. Nathanael Greene. [6] George Clinton.
[7] Ralph Izard, United States Senator from South Carolina.
[8] William Samuel Johnson, United States Senator from Connecticut.
[9] William Smith, United States Representative from South Carolina.
[10] John Kean, of South Carolina. He had been a member of the Continental Congress in 1785–87.
[11] The date of issue of this first Thanksgiving Proclamation, issued by the first President of the United States, is October 3d. The original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Sunday, 29th. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, 30th. Went to the Play in the evening, and presented tickets to the following persons, viz: — Doctr. Johnson [1] and lady, Mr. Dalton [2] and lady, the Chief Justice of the United States [3] and lady, Secretary of War [4] and lady, Baron de Steuben,[5] and Mrs. Green.[6]

DECEMBER

Tuesday, 1st. A pretty full Levee to-day — among the visitors was the Vice-President [7] and all the Senators in town. Exercised on horse back between 10 and 12.

Read the papers relative to our affairs with the Emperor of Morocco,[8] and sent them to Mr. Jay to prepare answers to them.

Wednesday, 2d. Exercised in the post chaise with Mrs. Washington — visited on our return the Vice President and family — afterwards walked to Mr. King's [9] — neither he nor his lady were at home, or to be seen.

Thursday, 3d. The following gentlemen and ladies dined here, viz: — Gen. Schuyler,[10] his lady and daughter, (Mrs. Ranselaer [11]) Mr. Dalton and his lady, the Secretary of the

[1] William Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut. He had been a delegate to the Continental Congress and a member of the United States Constitutional Convention.

[2] Tristram Dalton. [3] John Jay. [4] Henry Knox.

[5] Frederick Wilhelm Augustus Henry Ferdinand, Baron von Steuben, who had been Major-General and Inspector-General of the Continental Army.

[6] Mrs. Nathanael Greene. [7] John Adams.

[8] Negotiation of a new treaty and steps necessary to secure the release of Americans taken prisoners by the Morocco pirates.

[9] Rufus King, United States Senator from New York; later United States Minister to Great Britain.

[10] Philip Schuyler, United States Senator from New York.

[11] Mrs. Stephen Van Rensselaer.

Treasury [1] and his lady, Gen. Knox and lady, and Mrs. Greene, Baron de Steuben, Col. Osgood,[2] (Post Master Gen'l) and the Treasurer, Majr. Meredith.[3]

Friday, 4*th*. A great number of visiters (gentlemen and ladies) this evening to Mrs. Washington.

The Governor of New Jersey, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly of that State, presented an Address [4] from the Legislature thereof, and received an answer to it, after which they dined with me.

Saturday, 5*th*. Exercised on horseback between 10 and 12 o'clock.

The Vice-President and lady and two sons [5] — Col. Smith and lady, and his sister, and Mrs. Adams's niece, dined here.

Sunday, 6*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, 7*th*. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Tuesday, 8*th*. Finished my extracts from the Commissioners' Report of their proceedings at the Treaty with the Creek Indians — and from many other papers respecting Indian matters and the Western Territory.[6] A full levee to-day.

Wednesday, 9*th*. Walked round the Battery.

[1] Alexander Hamilton. [2] Samuel Osgood. [3] Samuel Meredith.

[4] Governor William Livingston and Speaker John Beatty. The Address, which was merely one of the usual complimentary forms, is recorded, with Washington's answer, in the contemporaneous Washington Letter Books, under date of December 1, 1789, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] John Quincy Adams and Thomas Boylston Adams.

[6] These extracts (covering eighteen folio pages, entirely in Washington's handwriting) are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Thursday, 10*th*. Exercised on horseback between 10 and 12 o'clock.

The following company dined here to-day, viz: Mrs. King [1] and Mr. and Mrs. Few,[2] Mr. and Mrs. Harrison,[3] Mr. and Mrs. Wolcott,[4] Mr. Duer,[5] his lady, and Miss Brown,[6] Mr. Griffin [7] and lady, and Lady Christiana [8] and her daughter.

Friday, 11*th*. Being rainy and bad, no person except the Vice-President visited Mrs. Washington this evening.

Saturday, 12*th*. Exercised in the coach with Mrs. Washington and the two children, (Master and Miss Custis,[9]) between breakfast and dinner — went the 14 miles round.[10]

Sunday, 13*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, 14*th*. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Tuesday, 15*th*. Exercised on horseback about 10 o'clock — called on the Secretary for the Department of War,[11] and gave him the heads of many letters to be written to characters in the Western Country, relative chiefly to Indian Affairs.

[1] Mrs. Rufus King.

[2] William Few, United States Senator from Georgia. He later became United States Commissioner of Loans; he had been a delegate to the Continental Congress and to the United States Constitutional Convention.

[3] Richard Harrison. [4] Oliver Wolcott. [5] William Duer.

[6] Miss Anne Brown. [7] Samuel Griffin.

[8] Lady Christiana, the wife of Cyrus Griffin, of Virginia.

[9] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[10] The Kingsbridge road over Murray Hill to McGowan's Pass, at about 108th Street, then west on a line with the Harlem River and down the western side of the island. (*Lossing, The Diary of George Washington, 1789–1791.*)

[11] Henry Knox.

Visitors to the levee to-day were not very numerous, though respectable.

Wednesday, 16*th*. Dined with Mrs. Washington and all the family, (except the two children) at Governor Clinton's [1] — where also dined the Vice-President,[2] his lady, Colo. and Mrs. Smith,[3] the Mayor (Colo. Varick) [4] and his lady, and old Mr. Van Berkel [5] and his daughter.

Thursday, 17*th*. The following company dined here, viz: The Chief Justice of the U. States [6] and his lady; Mr. King,[7] Colo. and Mrs. Lawrence,[8] Mrs. Gerry,[9] Mr. Egbert Benson,[10] Bishop Provost,[11] and Doct. Lynn [12] and his lady.

Friday, 18*th*. Read over and digested my thoughts upon the subject of a National Militia, from the plans of the militia of Europe, those of the Secretary at War, and the Baron de Steuben.

[1] George Clinton. [2] John Adams.

[3] William Stephens Smith.

[4] Richard Varick, Mayor of New York City. He had been aide to Benedict Arnold at the time of the treason; but was cleared of all complicity by a special court of inquiry. Washington soon afterward appointed him his recording secretary. He later became Attorney-General of the State of New York.

[5] Van Berckel was then sixty-six years old.

[6] John Jay.

[7] Rufus King; later United States Minister to Great Britain.

[8] Colonel John Lawrence (Laurence). He had been Judge-Advocate-General of the Continental Army, and as such managed the trial of Major André. He was United States Representative from New York. Washington appointed him Judge of the United States Circuit Court, and he became a United States Senator, 1796–1800.

[9] Mrs. Elbridge Gerry.

[10] Egbert Benson, the first Attorney-General of New York State after the Declaration of Independence, 1777; he served as such until 1789. He was a member of the Continental Congress and Judge of the New York Supreme Court, 1794–1802.

[11] Bishop Samuel Provoost, first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York State, and rector of Trinity Church, New York City.

[12] William Linn, first chaplain of the United States House of Representatives.

Saturday, 19*th*. Committed the above thoughts to writing [1] in order to send them to the Secretary for the Department of War, to be worked into the form of a Bill, with which to furnish the Committee of Congress which had been appointed to draught one.

Sunday, 20*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, 21*st*. Framed the above thoughts on the subject of a National Militia into the form of a Letter, and sent it to the Secretary for the Department of War.[2]

Sat from ten to one o'clock for a Mr. Savage,[3] to draw my Portrait for the University of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts, at the request of the President [4] and Governors of the said University.

Tuesday, 22*d*. A pretty full and respectable Levee to-day — at which several members of Congress, newly arrived, attended.

Wednesday, 23*d*. Exercised in the Post-Chaise with Mrs. Washington to-day.

Sent the dispatches which came to me from the Assembly of Virginia, and from the Representatives of several Counties therein, respecting the state of the frontiers and depredations of the Indians,[5] to the Secretary for the

[1] This plan for the militia was sent to Congress January 21, 1790. It is printed in the *American State Papers* (1832), *Military*, I, p. 6.

[2] Knox submitted the plan for the militia to Washington, January 21, 1790, who sent it that same day to Congress. (See entry and note for December 19th, *ante*.)

[3] Edward Savage, of Massachusetts. The portrait is in the possession of Harvard University. Many prints of an engraving of it have been made.

[4] Joseph Willard.

[5] These letters were from the Governor of Virginia, Colonel James Wood, Beverley Randolph, and others, and related to Indian murders and other atrocities, in Monongahela County. They were dated in May and June, 1789; but they are not now to be found in the Washington Papers.

Department of War, requesting his attendance to-morrow at 9 o'clock, that I might converse more fully with him on the subject of the communications.

Thursday, 24th. The Secretary of War coming according to appointment, he was instructed, after conversing fully on the matter, what answers to return to the Executive of Virginia, and to the Representatives of the frontier counties.

Friday, 25th. Christmas Day. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

The visitors to Mrs. Washington this afternoon were not numerous, but respectable.

Saturday, 26th. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. Chief Justice Morris [1] and the Mayor, (Colo. Varick) [2] and their ladies, Judge Hobart,[3] Colo. Cole [4] Majr. Gilman,[5] Mrs. Brown, Secretary Otis,[6] and Mr. Beekley,[7] dined here.

Sunday, 27th. At home — all day — weather being bad.

Monday, 28th. Sat all the forenoon for Mr. Savage, who was taking my portrait.

Tuesday, 29th. Being very snowing, not a single person appeared at the Levee.

[1] Richard Morris, Chief Justice of the State of New York.
[2] Colonel Richard Varick, Mayor of New York City.
[3] John Sloss Hobart.
[4] Isaac Coles, United States Representative from Virginia.
[5] Nicholas Gilman.
[6] Samuel Allyne Otis, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the United States Senate.
[7] John Beckley, of Virginia, Clerk of the United States House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 30*th*. Exercised in a carriage.

Thursday, 31*st*. Bad weather and close house.

The Vice-President and lady, Colo. Smith and lady, Chan'r Livingston,[1] lady and sister, Baron Steuben, Messrs. White,[2] Gerry,[3] Partridge[4] and Tucker,[5] of the House of Representatives, dined here to-day.

[1] Robert R. Livingston.
[2] Alexander White, of Virginia.
[3] Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.
[4] George Partridge, of Massachusetts.
[5] Thomas T. Tucker, of South Carolina.

1790

January 1–March 10

Original (known as the Joy MS.) is in the Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan. The text here given follows Benson J. Lossing's publication of *The Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791* (Richmond, 1861), which is used by Toner as the above portion (January 1–March 10) of his *Transcript of Washington's Diary*. (The Joy MS. contains the diary entries, 1789, October 1–1790, March 10, in one volume.)

1790

JANUARY

Friday, 1*st.* The Vice-President, the Governor, the Senators, Members of the House of Representatives in town, foreign public characters, and all the respectable citizens, came between the hours of 12 and 3 o'clock, to pay the compliments of the season to me [1] — and in the afternoon a great number of gentlemen and ladies visited Mrs. Washington on the same occasion.

Saturday, 2*d.* Exercised in the carriage with Mrs. Washington. Read the report of the Secretary of the Treasury respecting the state of his Department and proposed plans of finance.[2] Drank tea at the Chief Justice's [3] of the U. States.

Sunday, 3*d.* Went to St. Paul's Chapel.

Monday, 4*th.* Informed the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives that I had some oral communications to make to Congress when each house had a quorum,[4] and desired to be informed thereof — and of the time and place they would receive them.

Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Received a report from the Secretary at War respecting

[1] The public New Year reception by the President which, with few exceptions, continued as a custom until President Wilson's Administration.

[2] This was Hamilton's famous Report on the Public Credit, which was submitted to the House of Representatives, January 9, 1790. It is printed in the *American State Papers* (1832), *Finance*, I, p. 15.

[3] John Jay.

[4] This would be the first annual message to Congress.

the state of the frontiers and Indian affairs,[1] with other matters which I ordered to be laid before Congress, as part of the papers which will be referred to in my speech to that body.

Tuesday, 5th. Several Members of Congress called in the forenoon to pay their respects on their arrival in town, but though a respectable Levee, at the usual hour, three o'clock, the visitors were not numerous.

Wednesday, 6th. Sat from half after 8 o'clock till 10 for the portrait painter, Mr. Savage, to finish the picture of me which he had begun for the University of Cambridge.

In the afternoon walked around the Battery.

Miss Anne Brown stayed here, on a visit to Mrs. Washington, to a family dinner.

Thursday, 7th. About one o'clock rec'd a Committee from both houses of Congress,[2] informing me that each had made a house, and would be ready at any time I should appoint to receive the communication I had to make in the Senate Chamber. Named to-morrow 11 o'clock, for this purpose.

The following gentlemen dined here, viz: Messrs. Langdon,[3] Wingate,[4] Strong[5] and Few,[6] of the Senate, the

[1] Which included the Creek Indian negotiations. (See diary entry and note, January 12, 1790, *post.*)

[2] Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts, and Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, from the Senate, and Nicholas Gilman, of New Hampshire; Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, and Joshua Seney, of Maryland, composed the joint committee. This cumbersome ceremonial method seems to have been adopted, as much from doubt of what was a fitting procedure as from a real desire for an elaborate ceremony. The new Government was cautious of too much democracy at the start.

[3] John Langdon, President *pro tem.* of the United States Senate.

[4] Paine Wingate, United States Senator from New Hampshire.

[5] Caleb Strong, United States Senator from Massachusetts.

[6] William Few, United States Senator from Georgia.

Speaker,[1] Genl. Muhlenberg [2] and Scott,[3] of Pennsylvania, Judge Livermore [4] and Foster,[5] of New Hampshire, Aimes [6] and Thatcher [7] and Goodhue,[8] of Massachusetts, Mr. Burke,[9] of South Carolina, and Mr. Baldwin,[10] of Georgia.

Friday, 8th. According to appointment, at 11 o'clock, I set out for the City Hall in my coach, preceded by Colonal Humphreys [11] and Majr. Jackson [12] in uniform, (on my two white horses) and followed by Messrs. Lear [13] and Nelson,[14] in my chariot, and Mr. Lewis,[15] on horseback, following them. In their rear was the Chief Justice [16] of the United States and Secretary of the Treasury [17] and War Departments,[18] in their respective carriages, and in the order they are named. At the outer door of the hall I was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House, and conducted to the door of the Senate Chamber; and passing from thence to the Chair through the Senate on the right, and House of Representatives on the left, I took my seat. The gentlemen who attended me followed and took their

[1] Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives.
[2] General Peter Muhlenberg.
[3] Thomas Scott, United States Representative from Pennsylvania.
[4] Samuel Livermore, United States Representative from New Hampshire.
[5] Abiel Foster, United States Representative from New Hampshire.
[6] Fisher Ames, United States Representative from Massachusetts.
[7] George Thatcher, United States Representative from Massachusetts.
[8] Benjamin Goodhue, United States Representative from Massachusetts.
[9] Aedanus Burke, United States Representative from South Carolina.
[10] Abraham Baldwin, United States Representative from Georgia.
[11] David Humphreys, who was continuing as a secretarial aide to Washington.
[12] William Jackson, acting in a capacity similar to that of Humphreys.
[13] Tobias Lear, the official Private Secretary to the President of the United States.
[14] Thomas Nelson, Jr., acting in a capacity similar to that of Humphreys and of Jackson.
[15] Robert Lewis, son of Washington's sister, Betty Lewis, acting in a capacity similar to that of Humphreys, of Jackson, and of Nelson.
[16] John Jay. [17] Alexander Hamilton. [18] Henry Knox.

stand behind the Senators; the whole rising as I entered. After being seated, at which time the members of both Houses also sat, I rose, (as they also did) and made my speech; [1] delivering one copy to the President of the Senate, and another to the Speaker of the House of Representatives — after which, and being a few moments seated, I retired, bowing on each side to the assembly (who stood) as I passed, and descending to the lower hall, attended as before, I returned with them to my house.

In the evening a *great* number of ladies, and many gentlemen visited Mrs. Washington.

On this occasion I was dressed in a suit of clothes made at the Woolen Manufactory at Hartford, as the buttons also were.[2]

Saturday, *9th.* Exercised with Mrs. Washington and the children [3] in the coach the 14 miles round. In the afternoon walked round the Battery.

Sunday, 10*th.* Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon — wrote private letters in the afternoon for the Southern mail.

Monday, 11*th.* Sent my instructions to the Commissioners (appointed to negotiate a Treaty with the Creek

[1] The first Annual Message to the First Congress of the United States by the first President thereof. It is short, covering but three pages in the Washington Letter Books, where it is contemporaneously entered (Communications with Congress, vol. 1). It is printed in Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (1896), 1, 65. The replies of the Senate and House are also there printed (pp. 67 and 69). The practice of the President appearing in person before Congress and delivering his annual message orally and of Congress replying to the same continued throughout Washington's Presidency and that of John Adams. Jefferson discontinued the custom in an explanatory message to Congress, December 8, 1800, and his procedure of sending his annual messages to Congress and of no reply being made by that body was followed by all succeeding Executives until President Wilson's Administration.

[2] See entry and note, October 20th, *ante*.

[3] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

Indians) with the report of their proceedings, to the Senate by the Secretary at War,[1] previous to their being laid before them and the other house in their legislative capacities.

Also communicated to both Houses, transcripts of the adoption and ratification of the New Constitution by the State of North Carolina,[2] with copies of the letter from His Excellency, Saml. Johnson,[3] President of the Convention, enclosing the same. These were sent by my private Secretary, Mr. Lear.

Tuesday, 12*th*. Exercised on horseback between 10 and 12 — ye riding bad. Previous to this, I sent written messages to both Houses of Congress, informing them that the Secretary at War would lay before them a full and complete statement of the business as it respected the negotiation with the Creek Indians[4] — my instructions to, and the Commissioners' report of their proceedings with those people — the letters and other papers respecting depredations on the western frontiers of Virginia, and District of Kentucky. All of which was for their *full* information, but communicated in confidence, and under injunction that no copies be taken, or communications made of such parts as ought to be kept secret.

About two o'clock a Committee of the Senate waited on me with a copy of their address, in answer to my speech, and requesting to know at what time and place it should be presented. I named my own house, and Thursday next, at 11 o'clock, for the purpose.

[1] Henry Knox.

[2] November 21, 1789, was the date of North Carolina's ratification.

[3] Governor Samuel Johnston. He was then (1790) United States Senator from North Carolina.

[4] This is the same report submitted unofficially on January 11th (see above). It is printed in the *American State Papers* (1832), *Indian Affairs*, 1, p. 59. The secret article of the Creek Treaty, August 4th, is printed on p. 80.

Just before the Levee hour, a Committee from the House of Representatives called upon me to know when and where they should deliver their address. I named twelve o'clock on Thursday; but finding it was their wish that it should be presented at the Federal Hall, and offering to surrender the Representatives' Chamber for this purpose, by retiring into one of the Committee rooms, and there waiting until I was ready to receive it, I would consider on the place, and let them know my determination before the House should sit to-morrow.

A respectable, though not a full Levee to-day.

Wednesday, 13th. After duly considering on the place for receiving the address of the House of Representatives, I concluded that it would be best to do it at my own house — first, because it seems most consistent with usage and custom — 2d, because there is no place in the Federal Hall (prepared) to which I could call them, and to go into either of the chambers appropriated to the Senate or Representatives, did not appear proper; and 3d, because I had appointed my own house for the Senate to deliver theirs in, and accordingly appointed my own house to receive it.

Thursday, 14th. At the hours appointed, the Senate and House of Representatives presented their respective addresses — the members of both coming in carriages, and the latter with the Mace preceding the Speaker. The address of the Senate was presented by the Vice-President — and that of the House by the Speaker thereof.[1]

The following gentlemen dined here to-day, viz:

Messrs. Henry[2] and Maclay,[3] of the Senate — and

[1] These addresses are entered in the Washington Letter Books (Communications with Congress, vol. 1). (See diary entry and note for January 8, *ante*.)

[2] John Henry, United States Senator from Maryland.

[3] William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

Messrs. Wadsworth,[1] Trumbull,[2] Floyd,[3] Boudinot,[4] Wynkoop,[5] Seney,[6] Page,[7] Lee,[8] and Mathews,[9] of the House of Representatives; and Mr. John Trumbull.[10]

Friday, 15*th*. Snowing all day — but few ladies and gentlemen as visitors this evening to Mrs. Washington.

Saturday, 16*th*. Exercised in the coach with Mrs. Washington and the two children,[11] about 12 o'clock.

Sent the Report of the Post Master General relative to the necessary changes in that office [12] to the Secretary of the Treasury, that it may be laid before Congress — or such parts thereof as may be necessary for their information.

Sunday, 17*th*. At home all day — not well.

Monday, 18*th*. Still indisposed with an aching tooth, and swelled and inflamed gum.

Tuesday, 19*th*. Not much company at the Levee to-day — but the visitors were respectable.

[1] Jeremiah Wadsworth, United States Representative from Connecticut.

[2] Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., United States Representative from Connecticut.

[3] William Floyd, Signer of the Declaration of Independence and United States Representative from New York.

[4] Elias Boudinot, United States Representative from New Jersey. At one time President of the Continental Congress and Commissary-General of Prisoners.

[5] Henry Wynkoop, United States Representative from Pennsylvania.

[6] Joshua Seney, United States Representative from Maryland.

[7] John Page, United States Representative from Virginia.

[8] Richard Bland Lee, United States Representative from Virginia.

[9] George Mathews, United States Representative from Virginia.

[10] John Trumbull, the artist.

[11] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[12] The report was in the form of a draft of a bill by Samuel Osgood, the Postmaster-General, for establishing the Post-Office. The plan, dated January 20th, was submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury and by Hamilton submitted to the House of Representatives, January 22d. It is printed in the *American State Papers* (1834), *Post Office Department*, p. 2.

Wednesday, 20*th*. A Report from the Secretary at War, on the subject of the National Militia, altered agreeably to the ideas I communicated to him, was presented to me, in order to be laid before Congress.

Thursday, 21*st*. The above report was accordingly transmitted to both Houses of Congress by the Secretary at War,[1] in a written message from me.[2]

The following gentlemen dined here, viz: — Messrs. Elsworth,[3] Paterson,[4] Elmer,[5] Bassett,[6] and Hawkins,[7] of the Senate — and Messrs. Sherman,[8] Cadwalader,[9] Clymer,[10] Hartley,[11] Heister,[12] Smith,[13] (Maryland) and Jackson,[14] of the House of Representatives — and Major Meredith,[15] Treasurer of the United States.

Friday, 22*d*. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon.

Called in my ride on the Baron de Polnitz,[16] to see the operation of his (Winlaw's) threshing machine. The effect was, the heads of the wheat being seperated from the straw, as much of the first was run through the mill in 15 minutes as made half a bushel of clean wheat — allowing 8 working hours in the 24, this would yield 16 bushels pr.

[1] Henry Knox. [2] See diary entries for January 18th and 19th, *post*.
[3] Oliver Ellsworth. [4] William Paterson, of New Jersey.
[5] Jonathan Elmer, of New Jersey. [6] Richard Bassett, of Delaware.
[7] Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina.
[8] Roger Sherman, Signer, of Connecticut.
[9] Lambert Cadwalader, of New Jersey.
[10] George Clymer, Signer, of Pennsylvania.
[11] Thomas Hartley, of Pennsylvania.
[12] Daniel Heister, of Pennsylvania. [13] William Smith, of Maryland.
[14] James Jackson, of Georgia. [15] Samuel Meredith.
[16] Baron Poellnitz had been promised by Washington that the latter would inspect the threshing machine. 'I propose to take some farther occasion to see the manner in which the threshing machine operates, when you shall let me know it is in readiness for the purpose.' (*Washington to Poellnitz, December* 29, 1789.) The Baron had an experimental farm near Murray Hill, and one of his ideas, which he suggested to Washington, was the establishment of such a farm under the Government. Poellnitz can thus be credited with being the father of our Government Experiment stations of to-day.

day. Two boys are sufficient to turn the wheel, feed the mill, and remove the threshed grain after it has passed through it. Two men were unable, by winnowing, to clean the wheat as it passed through the mill, but a common Dutch fan, with the usual attendance, would be *more* than sufficient to do it. The grain passes through without bruising and is well separated from the chaff. Women, or boys of 12 or 14 years of age, are fully adequate to the management of the mill or threshing machine. Upon the whole, it appears to be an easier, more expeditious, and much cleaner way of getting out grain than by the usual mode of threshing; and vastly to be preferred to treading, which is hurtful to horses, filthy to the wheat, and not more expeditious, considering the numbers that are employed in the process from the time the head is begun to be formed until the grain has passed finally through the fan.

Many and respectable visitors to Mrs. Washington this evening.

Saturday, 23*d*. Went with Mrs. Washington in the forenoon to see the Paintings of Mr. Jno. Trumbull.[1]

Sunday, 24*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Writing private letters in the afternoon.

Monday, 25*th*. A Mr. Francis Bailey,[2] introduced by Messrs. Scott[3] and Hartley,[4] of Pennsylvania, and Mr. White,[5] of Virginia, offered a paper, in the nature of a

[1] Trumbull's paintings, in addition to portraits of eminent Americans, probably included at this time the 'Battle of Bunker Hill,' the 'Sortie from Gibraltar,' and the 'Death of Montgomery.'

[2] At one time Printer to the Continental Congress. The House of Representatives passed a bill giving him a monopoly of this invention, March 2, 1790; but it failed of passage in the Senate.

[3] Thomas Scott, United States Representative from Pennsylvania.

[4] Thomas Hartley, United States Representative from Pennsylvania.

[5] Alexander White, United States Representative from Virginia.

Petition, setting forth a valuable discovery he had made of marginal figures for notes, certificates, etc., which could not by the ingenuity of man be counterfeited requesting I would appoint some persons to hear and examine him on the subject; that if the facts stated by him should appear well founded, he might (being a printer, of Philadelphia) have the printing of all that sort of the public business for which this discovery should be found useful — and which he would do on as good terms as any other printer, independent of the discovery above mentioned, all the advantage he should expect from which being to obtain a preference.

Read a letter from George Nicholas,[1] Esq., of Kentucky, to Mr. Madison,[2] which he put into my hands for information of the sentiments of the people of that district.

The sentiments are:

That in the late Convention [3] held 2d Nov'r in that district, the most important characters of that party which has always been in favor of a seperation, oppose the agreeing to it at this time, upon a supposition that the terms have been changed by Virginia, so as to make them inadmissible in their present form. Their enemies say this cannot be their *true* reason: but be them what they may, the scale is turned against the seperation.

That he believes no late attempt has been made by either Spain or England to detach that district from the Union — but —

That Spain is playing a game which, if not counteracted,

[1] George Nicholas, an important character in Kentucky. The State Constitution of 1792 was largely his work and he was the first Attorney-General of the State.

[2] James Madison, United States Representative from Virginia.

[3] Virginia had agreed to Kentucky's separation in 1789, and Congress, January 5, 1790, passed an 'Act declaring the consent of Congress to the Independence of Kentucky,' but the State was not admitted to the Union until June 1, 1792.

will depopulate that country, and carry most of the future emigrants to her territory.

That they have established a new government, independent of New Orleans at the Natchez, and sent thither a man of character and abilities [1] — who would not for *unimportant purposes* have accepted the appointment.

That this new Governor has put a stop to the reception of tobacco from the inhabitants of the United States — declaring that none shall be received into the King's stores, (where it used to be purchased and deposited,) except from Spanish subjects — and that these shall have ten dollars a hundred.

That other great advantages are held out to emigrants from the United States to settle in the Spanish Territory — such as a donation of lands, and a certain sum in money for each family.

That the consequences of restriction on one hand, and encouragements to settlers on the other, are obvious — the difference of religion and government are all that can make any man hesitate in his choice — and perfect liberty in both these the strongest assurances are given.

That the French inhabitants of that country, as well as future emigrants from the old States, will certainly go there.

That persevering steadily in this conduct will drain the Western settlements.

That these considerations ought to make the Federal Government take (he thinks) the most decided steps as to the right of navigating the Mississippi, and induce it to pay particular attention to the gaining the affections of the Western people.

That the steps hitherto taken with respect to them have had a contrary effect: no support having been given by the General Government, and the regulation of Indian Affairs

[1] Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Governor of Natchez.

having been placed in hands who were interested in a continuance of their depredations on the Kentucky district.

That if a trade is not established with them on such a footing as to supply their wants, that they will do this by plunder.

That the management of this business being in the hands of persons Northwest of the Ohio, it is inculcated on the Indians of the same side of the river, that as the Kentuckians and they are separate people, and in seperate interests, they may war with the first, and not with them. That of this disposition and conduct there are sufficient proofs whenever it is found that the interests of the two sides clash.

That the Commissioners being always named from persons living on that (North-west) side of the river, and always holding the Treaties there, contributes greatly to establish in the Indian mind this opinion of their being a distinct people.

That the Kentucky district being 20 times as numerous as the inhabitants of the other side, ought to have as great a share in the management of Indian Affairs as the people on the other side have.

That he is well convinced the bulk of the people in that district are strongly attached to the Union, and that characters might be found there better qualified to manage the business than those in whose hands it is now placed.

That if it is not the desire of the New Government to lose *all* its friends in that quarter, a change must be made in this business. The Indians must be convinced that the Americans are all one people — that they shall never attack any part with impunity — and that in future there real wants will be supplied in time of peace. This is all they ask.

That they deny in positive terms what the officers on the north-west side of the river assert, viz: — that hostilities

are always commenced by the people of the Kentucky district. Expeditions have and will be carried on across the river in revenge for depredations of the Indians, until the Government takes up the matter effectually.

That Mr. Brown [1] (to whom he has written) can inform in what light they are considered by the officers on the other side of the river.

That the want of money, he knows, prevents the Government from doing many things which otherwise would be undertaken, but that need not stop the necessary steps — because, if sanctioned by it, they can raise any number of men and furnish any quantity of provisions that may be wanting, and will wait until their finances enable them to make satisfaction.

That he fears the Government have taken up an idea that the country can be defended by a few posts along the river — if so, it is a most erroneous one, for an army would scarcely supply the chain that would be necessary.

That the post at the mouth of Licking is considered by many in the district of Kentucky as a check upon the said district. To this he can only say, if they are treated as fellow-citizens, checks are unnecessary — but if it is intended to withhold from (them) all the benefits of good government, a little time will show that, as heretofore, so in future they shall despise them as enemies.

That upon the whole, he shall close the subject with assurances that Government are deceived in the accounts they have had from that country — and that it is his opinion that the most serious consequences will follow from its persisting in the measures which have been pursued for some time past.

Tuesday, 26th. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon.

[1] John Brown (1757–1837) was Representative in the United States Congress, from the Kentucky District of Virginia from 1789 to 1792.

The visitors at the Levee to-day were numerous and respectable — among whom was the Vice-President [1] and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.[2]

Read a letter handed to me by the Secretary of War,[3] from a Col. Daniel Smith,[4] of Miro [5] settlement, in the State of North Carolina, in reply to one which was an answer to a letter from the said Smith respecting Indian affairs and state of the frontier of that part of the Union, and giving (as he was required to do) an account of the navigation of the river Tennessee and its waters — the communication between these and other waters — and the distances of places, as follow, viz: —

The distance between the settlements of white people south of the French Broad River. French Broad is a branch of Holstein River, on the south side, which is a branch of the Tennessee,) and the Indians at and in the vicinity of Chota, (a Cherokee Indian town,) is about 12 miles.

He never passed down the Tennessee himself. That part of it on which Chota stands is a south fork of the Holstein — their junction is about 20 miles below Chota, from which the whole river is called the Tennessee.

Boats of 7 or 8 tons burthen have frequently gone down the Holstein — and the water is sufficient for those of greater burden; but there is a place called the Suck, or boiling pot, where the river runs through the Cumberland Mountains, that is somewhat difficult, occasioned by the narrowness of the water and suddenness of the turn, that causes a rebound and kind of whirlpool; but many boats have passed it, and he has not heard of damage to any of them, nor has he been informed that there is any material

[1] John Adams. [2] Frederick A. Muhlenberg. [3] Henry Knox.

[4] Colonel Daniel Smith, Commandant of Miro District and Secretary of Tennessee Territory. He was United States Senator from Tennessee in 1805.

[5] Miro Settlement, named, supposedly, from the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Estevan Miro.

difficulty in the navigation more than is common in rivers of that size, where there is no tide.

Between the Suck and the Muscle Shoals, he is sure there is not.

Supposes the distance by water from Chota to the last mentioned place, is between 3 and 400 miles; the width of the river is very unequal — generally about 500 yards, except at the Suck, where it is not half that width.

The nature of the river, for the most part, is to have a bluff on one side and low grounds on the other, (which is liable to be overflowed) alternately; the banks are woody, and the low grounds thick with cane.

The Cherokees may be classed into three divisions. The valley settlements on the Tennessee above Chota, eastward of the Iron Mountain — those in the neighborhood of Chota — and those in the neighborhood of Chickamogga, (which is a creek running into the Tennessee, on the south side, a few miles above Suck) — they have detached villages besides — but the number of their towns is unknown to him — nor can he say what number of souls they consist of, but supposes of . . .

Warriors, there may be about 2,000 or 2,500 — and of the three divisions, the Chickamoggas are perhaps the most numerous.

Muscle Shoals have different accounts given of them by people who have passed them — some say they are 30 miles, others not 15 in length — but all agree that the river *there* is about 3 miles in width, very shallow, and full of small islands occasioned by drift wood lodging on the rocks, by which means mud and sand are accumulated; the lowest shoal is accounted rather the worst. It is not possible for a large boat to pass them in ascending the river at any season, nor can they pass down them but in time of a flood.

Occhappo Creek he had never heard of — nor has he

understood there was any creek on the south side of the river, near the Muscle Shoals, that was navigable, unless when the river was high. Seven or eight miles below the Muscle Shoals, there was formerly a Cherokee village, at the mouth of Cold Water Creek, but he never heard that it was navigable: 15 or 20 miles below this again is Bear Creek, on which a small tribe of Delawares live.

From the mouth of Cold Water Creek, or Bear Creek, to the highest navigation of the Mobile, he has heard it accounted 60 miles, but cannot say that it is so; the head waters of the Mobile may be about half that distance from the Tennessee.

Miro is the name of the district on Cumberland that includes three counties. Nashville the name of the town where the Superior Court is held. From hence to the lower end of the Muscle Shoals is about 150 miles, nearly south.

Duck River, a north branch of the Tennessee, where the path which leads from Nashville to the Chickasaw Nation crosses it, is about 60 miles from the Cumberland settlement — about a south-west course. About 100 miles further on the same direction is the nearest Chickasaw towns — the mouth of Duck River by water he supposes may be near 200 miles below the Muscle Shoals.

Cumberland Settlements are not very compact — they extend from the mouth of Red River, a north branch of Cumberland River, up to Bledsoe's Creek, being about 80 or 90 miles. The strength of the militia about 800 — and increasing fast — thinks they may be now by the late emigrations 1,000.

From Nashville to Lexington is about 200 or 210 miles by land — and from Nashville to the Falls of Ohio is about 140 miles, by land.

From the mouth of the Tennessee up to the Muscle Shoals the navigation is good — equal to that of the Ohio below the Falls — the width of the river near half a mile,

in places almost double — the distance about 400 miles. Chickasaws have no towns on the Tennessee — the nighest they have to it is about 60 miles from, or a little below Bear Creek. Their principal towns he has understood are on the heads of a fork of the Mobile, and on the head of the Yazoos; the number of their warriors is about 800.

Choctaws lye farther to the southward than the Chickasaws, and are a numerous nation. They are in alliance with the Chickasaws, and he has heard their numbers estimated at 7 or 8,000 — at least equal to those of the Creeks, though not so well armed.

McGillivray's communications with the Cherokees he conceives have a constant tendency to excite them to war against the frontiers of Georgia and North Carolina — or at least cautioning them to be on their guard against the white people, and infusing suspicions into the minds of them. The Creeks have wanted them to join in a war against the white people, but they have refused, and would be glad to see them humbled for the insolence with which they treat them.

It will be highly pleasing to his settlement — Miro — to hear that Congress will protect it.

Wednesday, 27th. Did business with the Secretaries of the Treasury and War.[1] With the first respecting the appointment of Superintendents of the Light Houses, Buoys, etc., and for building one at Cape Henry. With the latter for nominating persons (named in a list submitted to me) for paying the military pensioners of the United States — and the policy and advantages (which might be derived from the measure) of bringing Mr. Alex'r McGillivray, Chief of the Creek Nation here, being submitted to me for consideration, I requested that a plan might be reported by which Government might not appear to be the agent in it,

[1] Alexander Hamilton and Henry Knox.

or suffer in its dignity if the attempt to get him here should not succeed.

Thursday, 28*th*. Sent a letter (with an Act of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, for calling a Convention of that State, to decide on the Constitution of the Union,[1]) from Governor Collins,[2] to both Houses of Congress — to do which, was requested by the act, of the President.

The following gentlemen dined here, viz: the Vice-President,[3] the Secretary of the Treasury[4] — Messrs. Schuyler,[5] Morris,[6] Izard,[7] Dalton[8] and Butler,[9] of the Senate; and Messrs. Smith,[10] (South Carolina,) Stone,[11] Schureman,[12] Fitzsimmons,[13] Sedgwick,[14] Huger,[15] and Madison,[16] of the House of Representatives.

Friday, 29*th*. Exercised on horseback this forenoon; during my ride, Mr. Johnston,[17] one of the Senators from North Carolina, who had just arrived, came to pay his respects, as did Mr. Cushing,[18] one of the Associate Judges — the latter came again about 3 o'clock, introduced by the Vice-President.

Received from the Governor of North Carolina,[19] an Act of the Legislature of that State, authorizing the Senators thereof, or one of the Senators and two of the Representatives, to make (on certain conditions) a Deed of Session of their Western Territory,[20] described within certain natural

[1] Rhode Island ratified the Constitution, May 29, 1790.
[2] Governor John Collins. [3] John Adams. [4] Alexander Hamilton.
[5] Philip Schuyler. [6] Robert Morris. [7] Ralph Izard.
[8] Tristram Dalton. [9] Pierce Butler. [10] William Smith.
[11] Michael J. Stone. [12] James Schureman. [13] Thomas Fitzsimons.
[14] Theodore Sedgwick. [15] Daniel Huger. [16] James Madison.
[17] Samuel Johnston, formerly Governor of North Carolina.
[18] William Cushing, of Massachusetts, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.
[19] Alexander Martin.
[20] This act was of December, 1789 (the exact date is left blank in the act). The deed itself was executed February 25, 1790, and approved by Washington April 2d. (See diary entry of that date.)

boundaries; and requesting that the same should be laid before the Congress of the United States.

Received also a letter from the Baron de Steuben,[1] declarative of his distresses; occasioned by the non-payment or non-fulfilment of the contract which was made with him by the Congress under the former Confederation, and requesting my official interference in his behalf. The delicacy of this case from the nature and long laboring of it, requires consideration.

The visitors to Mrs. Washington this evening were numerous and respectable.

Saturday, 30th. Exercised with Mrs. Washington and the children [2] in the coach in the forenoon. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Sunday, 31st. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Mr. Wilson,[3] one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court, paid his respects to me after I returned from church.

Spent the afternoon in writing letters to Mount Vernon.

FEBRUARY

Monday, 1st. Agreed on Saturday last to take Mr. McCombs' house,[4] lately occupied by the Minister of France,[5] for one year from and after the first of May next; and

[1] Baron von Steuben was neglected by Congress. He finally received, from the State of New York, a grant of land near Utica, New York, and Congress passed an act allowing him twenty-five hundred dollars per annum for life. Washington approved this act June 4, 1790.

[2] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[3] James Wilson, Signer, of Pennsylvania.

[4] Alexander Macomb's house was on the west side of Broadway, a little below Trinity Church. Washington moved into this house from that of Samuel Osgood, which had been provided for him on his first arrival in New York, February 23d. Osgood's house was on Cherry Street next to Franklin Square. Lossing states that it was torn down in 1856.

[5] François, Comte de Moustier.

would go into it immediately, if Mr. Otto,[1] the present possessor, could be accommodated; and this day sent my Secretary to examine the rooms to see how my furniture could be adapted to the respective apartments.

Tuesday, 2*d*. Exercised in the carriage with Mrs. Washington.

On my return found Mr. Blair,[2] one of the Associate Judges, the Attorney-General [3] of the United States, and Col. Bland [4] here.

The Levee to-day was much crowded, and very respectable; among other company, the District Judge [5] and Attorney,[6] with the Marshall [7] and all the Grand Jurors of the Federal District Court, (and a respectable body they were) attended.

Sent (yesterday) the Deed of Session of the Western Lands, by the State of North Carolina,[8] to the United States, to both Houses of Congress.

Wednesday, 3*d*. Visited the apartments in the house of Mr. McCombs — made a disposition of the rooms — fixed on some furniture of the Minister's (which was to be sold, and was well adapted to particular public rooms) — and directed additional stables to be built.

Thursday, 4*th*. Received from a Committee of both Houses of Congress, an Act entitled 'An Act for giving effect to the several Acts therein mentioned, in respect to the State of North Carolina, and other purposes.' [9]

[1] Louis G. Otto, French chargé d'affaires.
[2] John Blair, of Virginia.
[3] Edmund Randolph, later Secretary of State.
[4] Colonel Theodorick Bland.
[5] James Duane.
[6] Richard Harrison.
[7] William Stephens Smith.
[8] The date of North Carolina's cession was February 25, 1790. (See diary entry for January 29, 1790, *ante*.)
[9] The 'Acts therein mentioned' were for the collection of duties on imports. The Act for giving effect to these Acts was approved by Washington, February 8th.

The following company dined here, viz: — The Vice-President,[1] the Chief Justice [2] of the United States, Judges Cushing, Wilson, and Blair,[3] of the Supreme Court, and Judge Duane,[4] of the District Court; the Attorney-General of the United States (Randolph); [5] the Marshall, Attorney, and Clerk of the District, viz: Smith, Harrison, and Troup; [6] Mr. Johnson and Mr. Hawkins,[7] of the Senate, and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments, to wit: — Hamilton and Knox.

Friday, 5th. Received from Doctr. Williamson,[8] of North Carolina, a list of names he thought would be proper to fill the Revenue offices in that State. Submitted the same to the Senators of that State for their inspection and alteration.

Saturday, 6th. Walked to my newly engaged lodgings to fix on a spot for a new stable which I was about to build. Agreed with . . to erect one 30 feet square, 16 feet pitch, to contain 12 single stalls; a hay loft, racks, mangers, etc., planked floor, and underpinned with stone, with windows between each stall, for £65.

The resignation of Mr. Harrison,[9] as an Associate Judge, making a nomination of some other character to supply his place necessary, I determined, after contemplating every character which presented itself to my view, to name Mr. Iredell,[10] of North Carolina; because in addition

[1] John Adams. [2] John Jay.
[3] William Cushing, James Wilson, and John Blair.
[4] James Duane. [5] Edmund Randolph.
[6] William Stephens Smith, Richard Harrison, and Robert Troup.
[7] Samuel Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins.
[8] Dr. Hugh Williamson. [9] Robert Hanson Harrison.
[10] James Iredell; born in England; married a sister of Samuel Johnston. Was Collector of Royal Customs at Edenton until he sided with the Colonies in the Revolution. Attorney-General of North Carolina and, by this appointment, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

to the reputation he sustains for abilities, legal knowledge, and respectability of character, he is of a State of some importance in the Union — that has given *no* character to a federal office. In ascertaining the character of this gentleman, I had recourse to every means of information in my power, and found them all concurring in his favor.

Sunday, 7*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, 8*th*. Nominated officers for the Revenue department in North Carolina.[1] Mr. Iredell as an Associate Judge; and *all those* who had been temporarily appointed during the recess of the Senate to fill resigned offices: likewise Major Samuel Shaw,[2] as Consul for Canton, in China.

Sent the Bill which had been presented to me on Thursday last, back to the House of Representatives, with my approving signature.[3]

Tuesday, 9*th*. A good deal of company at the Levee to-day.

Exercised on horseback in the forenoon.

Wednesday, 10*th*. Sat from 9 until 11 o'clock for Mr. Trumbull[4] to draw my picture in his historical pieces. Dispatched Commissions, and all the necessary Acts, to the Revenue officers in North Carolina.

Thursday, 11*th*. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon.

[1] Collectors, Naval Officers, and Surveyors of Customs appointed to the North Carolina ports.

[2] Samuel Shaw. He had been aide to Major-General Henry Knox, during the Revolution.

[3] See diary entry and note, February 4, 1790, *ante*.

[4] John Trumbull. The sketches were being made for Trumbull's collection of portraits of the prominent men of the Revolution. From the sketches and paintings accumulated, Trumbull evolved most of the historical paintings known to us to-day.

The following gentlemen dined here, viz; — Messrs. Leonard and Groat,[1] of Massachusetts; Huntington and Sturges,[2] of Connecticut; Silvester,[3] of New York; Sinnickson,[4] of New Jersey; Gale,[5] of Maryland; and Bland, Parker and Moore,[6] of Virginia.

Friday, 12*th*. Sat from 9 o'clock until 11, for Mr. John Trumbull, for the purpose of drawing my picture.

A good deal of company (gentlemen and ladies) to visit Mrs. Washington this afternoon.

Saturday, 13*th*. Walked in the forenoon to the house to which I am about to remove. Gave directions for the arrangement of the furniture, etc., and had some of it put up.

Sunday, 14*th*. At home all day — writing letters to Virginia.

Monday, 15*th*. Sat between 9 and 11, for Mr. John Trumbull.

Sent to both Houses of Congress a Letter from the President of New Hampshire, enclosing the adopted articles of amendments[7] of the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the latter at its last session, to the States individually. Perused two letters to Colo. Hawkins,

[1] George Leonard and Jonathan Grout, United States Representatives.

[2] Jonathan Huntington and Benjamin Sturges, United States Representatives.

[3] Peter Sylvester, United States Representative.

[4] Thomas Sinnickson, United States Representative.

[5] George Gale, United States Representative.

[6] Theodorick Bland, Josiah Parker, and Andrew Moore, United States Representatives.

[7] New Hampshire adopted all the proposed amendments to the Constitution except the Second, which provided that no law, varying the compensation for services of Senators and Representatives, should take effect until an election of Representatives shall have intervened. This was one of the two amendments rejected by the States. (See note to diary entry for March 8th, *post*.)

of the Senate, sent to me by the Secretary of War for my information. The one from a Lardin Clark, dated Nashville, Warren County, the 8th of Sept'r, 1789; the other from Brig'r Genl. Joseph Martin,[1] dated Smith's River, Jan. 7, 1790. The first of these letters mentions that the loose and disorderly people that first settled the district in which he is, remove, as government (by means of the Superior Court) is extended amongst them, and supplied by persons of better character and morals. That the Spanish Governor of Louisiana [2] is holding out every lure to invite the citizens of the United States to settle under that government. That a Doctor White,[3] who has been some time at New Orleans, does not seem to like the government, and discourages our settlers from migrating to it till it can at least be seen what measures the government of the Union will take respecting the navigation of the Mississippi. That conventions which it had been proposed to hold in Kentucky, and other districts of the western country, for the purpose of addressing the old Congress on this subject, had been proposed for the same reason. That there was no appearance of giving up the Post of the Natchez to the United States, though it was within their territory; on the contrary, Roman Catholic Churches were built there, and provision made for newly arrived priests. That the Spanish Governor has said that it is not want of land that make them oppose our settlements, or which causes them to withhold the navigation of the Mississippi from us, but because they do not like our advancing in such numbers, and so fast upon them. In short, they act under the operation of fear and jealousy, though they will not acknowledge these to be the motives for their conduct. That it has been reported through the Western Settle-

[1] General Joseph Martin was appointed by Washington Secretary of Territory south of the Ohio.

[2] Estevan Miro.

[3] Dr. Charles (?) White.

ments that Mr. Gardoqui had invited them to put themselves under the Spanish government, with assurances of peace and trade as consequences of it; and that Governor, by proclamation, had invited them to become inhabitants of Louisiana. That any person (he is informed) may take produce to New Orleans, paying 15 pr. ct. duty to the King. That the force (military) in the two Floridas consist of two regiments, of 600 men each; and he is told a third is ordered to be raised, to consist entirely of Spaniards by birth. That the district in which he is, populates fast and will soon make a State. And as the navigation of the Mississippi is essential to them, it must be obtained by treaty or by force, or they must connect themselves with the Spaniards. That it is not supposed the two Floridas and Louisiana contain more than 20,000 souls. That the distance from Nashville to New Orleans by land (which he has traveled) is about 450 or 500 miles, and not a mountain and hardly a hill in the way. That this year he supposes they will make 300 hhds. of tobacco — for which 3½*d.* only is given, when the Spaniard gets 10 dollars pr. hd. wt.

The other letter from Gen. Martin encloses the report of a Committee of the Assembly of North Carolina, which had been appointed to examine into a correspondence between him and Mr. McGillivray, by which he stands acquitted of any intention to injure the United States, or any of them. Informs him that from tolerable good information, he has just heard that the Chickasaw Nation had made a stroke at the Chickamages Indians, and were driving all before them. That several women and children of the latter had run to the inhabitants of Little River for refuge. That he shall set out in a few days, and as soon as the particulars can be known will give information of them. Wishes to know whether Congress approves of this war or not. Thinks he can easily stop it, if it does not meet their

approbation. But adds, their wars with one another may be the means of peace to our frontiers. Requests a hint on the subject by way of Richmond, directed to the care of the Postmaster there.

Tuesday, 16*th*. Intended to have exercised on horseback, but the weather prevented my doing it. Ride to my intended habitation, and gave some directions respecting the arrangement of the furniture.

The Levee to-day was thin.

Received some papers from the Secretary at War [1] respecting a correspondence to be opened between Col. Hawkins, of the Senate, and Mr. McGillivray, of the Creek Nation, for the purpose of getting the latter, with some other chiefs of that nation to this place, as an expedient to avert a war with them. But, the commissioning a person to negotiate this business with McGillivray, without laying the matter before the Senate, and the expense of the business appearing to bring in question the *powers* of the President, I requested to see and converse with the Secretary of War, tomorrow, on this subject.

Wednesday, 17*th*. The Secretary attending: and reference being had to the Act constituting the Department of War,[2] and the Act appropriating 20,000 dollars for the expense of treating with the Southern Indians seeming to remove (at least in a degree) the above doubts, but not in an unequivocal manner, I desired him to take the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States [3] and that of the Secretary of the Treasury [4] on these points, and let me know the result.

[1] Henry Knox. His letter to Washington explaining the situation is dated February 15, 1790, and is copied in the Washington Letter Books, Communications with the War Department, vol. 1, in Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] August 7, 1789. [3] John Jay. [4] Alexander Hamilton.

Thursday, 18*th*. Sat for Mr. Trumbull from 9 o'clock till 10; after which exercised in the post-chaise with Mrs. Washington. On our return home called on Mrs. Adams, lady of the Vice-President.

The following company dined here to-day, viz: — Judge Cushing [1] and his lady; the Postmaster General [2] and his lady, and Messrs. Boudinot,[3] Griffin,[4] Coles,[5] Gerry,[6] and White,[7] and their ladies.

Sent a Message to the Senate with the copies of a letter from the Governor of Massachusetts,[8] and a resolve of the Assembly of that State, respecting the disputed boundary between them and the British of Nova Scotia.[9]

Friday, 19*th*. Exercised on horseback about 9 o'clock. Walked afterwards to my new house.

Received a Capt. Drew, Com'r of a British sloop of war, sent express to Sir John Temple, Consul-General of that nation in the United States.

The visitors this evening to Mrs. Washington were numerous and respectable.

Saturday, 20*th*. Sat from 9 until 11, for Mr. Trumbull. Walked afterwards to my new house — then rode a few

[1] Judge William Cushing. [2] Samuel Osgood. [3] Elias Boudinot.
[4] Samuel Griffin.
[5] Isaac Coles, United States Representative from Virginia.
[6] Elbridge Gerry, United States Representative from Massachusetts.
[7] Alexander White, United States Representative from Virginia.
[8] John Hancock. His letter was dated February 10th and the Massachusetts resolve bore date February 1st.
[9] Washington had previously (February 9th, but not noted in the diary) sent to the Senate some papers respecting this so-called Eastern Boundary dispute. His message on that date was, in part: 'In my opinion it is desirable that all questions between this and other nations be speedily and amicably settled and in this instance I think it advisable to postpone any negotiation on the subject until I shall be informed of the result of your deliberations and receive your advice as to the proposition most proper to be offered on the part of the United States.' The matter was not settled and became a diplomatic legacy to President John Adams's Administration.

miles with Mrs. Washington and the children [1] before dinner; after which I again visited my new house in my coach (because it rained).

Sunday, 21*st*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon — wrote letters respecting my domestic concerns afterwards.

Monday, 22*d*. Set seriously about removing my furniture to my new house. Two of the gentlemen of the family had their beds taken there, and would sleep there to-night.

Tuesday, 23*d*. Few or no visitors at the Levee to-day, from the idea of my being on the move. After dinner, Mrs. Washington, myself, and children [2] removed, and lodged at our new habitation.

Wednesday, 24*th*. Employed in arranging matters about the house and fixing matters.

Thursday, 25*th*. Engaged as yesterday.

In the afternoon a Committee of Congress presented an Act for enumerating the inhabitants of the United States.[3]

Friday, 26*th*. A numerous company of gentlemen and ladies were here this afternoon.

Exercised on horseback this forenoon.

Saturday, 27*th*. Sat for Mr. Trumbull this forenoon; after

[1] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] The First Census of the United States. There is no mention in the printed Journals of Congress as to who composed this committee. The practice of sending all Acts passed by Congress to the President by a committee did not long continue.

which exercised in the coach with Mrs. Washington and the children.[1]

Sunday, 28*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. Wrote letters on private business afterwards.

MARCH

Monday, 1*st*. Exercised on horseback this forenoon, attended by Mr. John Trumbull, who wanted to see me mounted.

Informed the House of Representatives (where the Bill originated) that I had given my assent to the act for taking a Census of the People.

Also communicated to both Houses the application from the field officers of Harrison County, (made through the County Lieutenant, Colo. Duval,[2]) for assistance, as they apprehend the season was near at hand when Indian depredations would be commenced. With these, some other papers respecting the Western Frontiers were sent.

Tuesday, 2*d*. Much and respectable company was at the Levee to-day.

Caused a letter to be written to the Gov'r of St. Jago,[3] respecting the imprisonment of a Capt. Hammond.[4]

Wednesday, 3*d*. Exercised on horseback between 9 and 11 o'clock.

Thursday, 4*th*. Sat from 9 until half after 10 o'clock for Mr. Trumbull.

[1] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.
[2] John Pierce Duval.
[3] San Jago, Santiago, or Saint James, one of the Cape Verde Islands.
[4] Captain Thomas Hammond, a merchant captain from New York. He was seized by a British frigate and imprisoned at San Jago.

The following gentlemen dined here to-day, viz: — the Vice-President, Messrs. Langdon, Wingate, Dalton, Strong, Ellsworth, Schuyler, King, Patterson, Morris, McClay, Bassett, Henry, Johnson, Hawkins, Izard, Butler, and Few [1] all of the Senate.

Friday, 5th. A very numerous company of ladies and gentlemen here this evening.

Saturday, 6th. Exercised in the coach with Mrs. Washington and the children,[2] and in the afternoon walked round the Battery.

Received a letter from the Governor of the western territory, dated at the Rapids of Ohio, giving an account of the state of affairs in the western country.[3]

Sunday, 7th. At home all day — writing letters on private business.

Monday, 8th. Sent to both Houses of Congress the Resolves of the Delaware State,[4] to adopt and make part of the Constitution of the United States, the amendments proposed by the General Government — except the first

[1] John Adams, John Langdon, and Paine Wingate, of New Hampshire; Tristram Dalton and Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut; Philip Schuyler and Rufus King, of New York; William Paterson, of New Jersey; Robert Morris and William Maclay, of Pennsylvania; Richard Bassett, of Delaware; John Henry, of Maryland; Samuel Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina; Ralph Izard, Pierce Butler, and William Few, of South Carolina.

[2] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[3] Governor Arthur St. Clair. Washington notes in his résumé of Indian affairs, in the Washington Papers, that this letter contained nothing of importance.

[4] January 28, 1790. The first article of the Amendments, which failed of adoption (twelve Amendments were proposed by the First Congress but ten of which were ratified by the States), fixed the proportion of Representatives, after the First Census had been taken. It was a delicate point and one on which the smaller States were quite sensitive. The representation remained as fixed by Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment, of course, altered this. (See note to diary entry for February 15th, *ante*.)

article of the said amendments, the consideration of which they postponed.

Tuesday, 9th. A good many gentlemen attended the Levee to-day — among whom were many members of Congress.

Wednesday, 10th. Exercised on horseback between 9 and 11 o'clock. On my return had a long conversation with Colo. Willet,[1] who was engaged to go as a private agent, but for public purposes, to Mr. McGillivray, principal chief of the Creek Nation. In this conversation he was impressed with the critical situation of our affairs with that nation — the importance of getting him and some other chiefs to this city — the arguments justifiable for him to use to effect this — with such lures as respected McGillivray personally, and might be held out to him. His (Colo. Willet's) going was not to have the appearance of a governmental act — he, and the business he went upon, would be introduced to McGillivray by Colo. Hawkins, of the Senate, (from North Carolina,) who was a correspondent of M'Gillivray's — but he would be provided with a passport for him and other Indian Chiefs, if they inclined to make use of it; but not to part with it if they did not. The letter from Colo. Hawkins to McGillivray was calculated to bring to his and the view of the Creek Nation the direful consequences of a rupture with the United States. The disposition of the general government to deal justly and honorably by them — and the means by which they, the Creeks, may avert the calamities of war, which must be

[1] Colonel Marinus Willett, of the Fifth New York Regiment, in the Revolution; an active and energetic officer, accustomed to frontier duty and Indian difficulties. Willett was entirely successful and returned with McGillivray and several Creek chiefs. Washington then appointed Knox sole commissioner to negotiate the needed treaty. (See diary entry and note for November 18, 1789, and February 18, 1790, *ante*.)

brought on by the disorderly people of both nations, if a Treaty is not made and observed. His instructions relative to the principal points to be negotiated would be given to Colo. Willet, in writing, by the Secretary of War.

1790

March 11–July 14

Original missing; the text here given follows Benson J. Lossing's publication of *The Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791* (Richmond, 1861), which is used by Toner as the above portion (March 11–July 14) of his *Transcript of Washington's Diary.*

1790

MARCH

Thursday, 11*th*. A letter from Arthur Campbell, Esqr., of Washington County, Virginia, to the Secretary at War,[1] was put into my hands by the latter, containing the following information — the letter dated 6th Feb., '90:

That half the Cherokee Nation would desire to remain neuter in case of a war between the United States and the Creek Indians, viz: — those in the neighborhood of Chota, and all those which are called the Middle Settlements. The towns on the Tennessee below Hiwassee, and those on the heads of the Caussa,[2] would aid the Creeks.

That from the Long Island in Holstein [3] to the Junction of French Broad, the navigation is equal to that of Monongahela between the mouth of Cheat and Pittsburgh — below it, it is exceeding good to where the river passes through Cumberland Mountain, a distance of about 150 miles by water. Here the river runs with great rapidity against a steep rock, which forms its bank and makes a short turn, and gives this place the name of the whirl; the river here being not more than the fourth of its common breadth — above and below it is very deep but not dangerous, with care.

That from this place the river runs with a gentle current southerly, near the foot of the Cumberland mountain, on the west side for about 100 miles, (something eastwardly of this distance the mountain ends,) then it begins to turn northwardly 100 miles more to the upper end of the Muscle Shoals.

[1] Henry Knox.
[2] The Coosa River, a branch of the Alabama, in Georgia.
[3] Holston River.

That these Muscle Shoals are gentle rapids for about 30 miles, and the difficulty lays in strangers missing the right channel — the river being 2 miles wide and full of small islands.

That the Creek landing on the Tennessee is about 80 miles below the whirl,[1] from whence there is a good road to the Caussa, on the branches of which, and the Alabama river, (both waters of the Mobile) most of the upper Creeks live.

That below the Muscle Shoals a row-boat of any size may ascend the river with almost the same facility it passes downwards.

That from Nashville to the lower settlements on Holstein the new road is computed 180 miles. Miro is the name of the district.

That from Nashville to the Muscle Shoals is 70 miles.

That it is the upper Creeks *generally*, the Cherokees of the lower towns, to wit, Chickamagua, Nickajack, and Crows Town, that give annoyance to the Southern settlements of Kentucky, the path through the wilderness, and the Holstein settlements.

That the Miro District (which contains all the Cumberland settlements,) can raise 800 good militia men — total number of inhabitants may be about 4,000, besides slaves.

That Washington District in North Carolina contains 4,000 militia, and Washington District in Virginia about 2,000 militia — the two latter mostly in Holstein Valley.

That Kentucky District has between 8 and 10,000 men.

That in his opinion a regiment of militia could be raised to go against the Southern Indians, to serve one company in six weeks after the officers should receive orders for the purpose, and that before the expiration of that time 560 regular troops could be enlisted to serve three years or better — call them rangers. The light infantry companies

[1] The Creek landing or crossing was at the beginning of Muscle Shoals.

and troops of horse in the different western counties might be ordered into service agreeable to the existing laws of Virginia. Out of these a fine Ranging Regiment might be enlisted.

That the distances, as computed, from place to place, are as follow, viz;

From Lexington, in Kentucky,	
To Danville	30 miles
Green River	60 "
Big Barren River	60 "
Red River Station	40 "
Nashville, on Cumb'd	25 "
Muscle Shoals	70 "
	285 "
From Lexington to Crab Orchard	40 miles
To Cumberland Gap	100 "
The mouth of Hiwassee	70 "
Big Shoemac Town (Cherokee)	40 "
Creek Towns	60 "
	310 "
From Nashville to Holstein	
To Bledsoe Lick	30 miles
Big Salt Lick (Cumb'd)	30 "
Junction of the Holstein and Tennessee	100 "
	160 "
From the mouth of Holstein, the direct way to the Creek Towns —	
To Hiwassee old Town (Cherokees.)	40 miles
Big Shoemac	30 "
Upper Creeks or Caussa Waters	60 "
	130 "

The following gentlemen dined here to-day, viz: Mr. Read,[1] of the Senate, the Speaker,[2] and following

[1] George Read, of Delaware. [2] Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg.

gentlemen of the House of Representatives, viz: — Messrs. Gilman, Goodhue, Aimes, Wadsworth, Trumbull, Benson, Lawrence, Peter Muhlenberg, Wynkoop, Vining, Carroll, Contee, Madison, Page, and Sumpter [1] — also Judge Bedford [2] and Mr. John Trumbull.

Friday, 12*th*. Exercised in the Post chaise with Mrs. Washington from 10 o'clock till near 12.

Signed the Passport which was to be committed to Colo. Willet for Mr. McGillivray and other Chiefs of the Creek Nation of Indians, and other papers necessary for his setting out on this business.

A Pretty numerous company of visitors this evening to Mrs. Washington's Levee.

Saturday, 13*th*. Exercised about 11 o'clock with Mrs. Washington and the Children,[3] in the coach.

Sunday, 14*th*. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon — wrote letters on private business afterwards.

Monday, 15*th*. Received an Address from the Roman Catholics of the United States,[4] presented by Mr. Carroll of the Senate, Mr. Carroll and Mr. Fitzimmons of the

[1] Nicholas Gilman, of New Hampshire; Benjamin Goodhue and Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts; Jeremiah Wadsworth and Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut; Egbert Benson and John Lawrence (or Laurence), of New York; Peter Muhlenberg and Henry Wynkoop, of Pennsylvania; John Vining, of Delaware; Daniel Carroll and Benjamin Contee, of Maryland; James Madison and John Page, of Virginia; and Thomas Sumter, of South Carolina.

[2] Gunning Bedford, Jr. (1747–1812), son of Governor Gunning Bedford. He had been a Presidential elector and was appointed, by Washington, United States Judge of the Delaware District.

[3] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[4] The Address from the Roman Catholics was signed by Bishop John Carroll, in behalf of the Catholic clergy, and by Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimons, and Dominick Lynch, for the Catholic laity. It is undated, and is entered, contemporaneously, with Washington's reply, in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

House of Representatives and many others, Inhabitants of the City of New York.

Received a letter from the Executive of the State of Pensylvania,[1] by the hands of a Mr. Ryerson, one of the Representatives of that State in Assembly, respecting the exposed state of the County of Washington — this letter I sent to the Secretary of War to be laid before Congress.

I also received from the Speaker of the Assembly of Pensylvania, an Act, adopting the amendments to the Constitution as proposed by Congress, except the first article thereof.[2]

And Mr. Few,[3] Senator from the State of Georgia, presented me with the copy of an Address from that State requiring to knw. when it would be convenient for me to receive it in form. Finding it out of the usual style[4] — State politics being blended therewith, I informed Mr. Few that as soon as I could make it convenient to receive it He should have notice thereof.

Tuesday, 16th. Exercised on horseback between 10 and 12 o'clock: previous to this, I was visited (having given permisn.) by a Mr. Warner Miflin, one of the People called Quakers; active in pursuit of the Measures laid before Congress for emancipating the Slaves: after much general

[1] This letter is dated September 5, 1789, and is entered in the Washington Letter Books, Communications with the War Department, vol. 1, in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Pennsylvania adopted the amendment, March 10, 1790. (See note to diary entry for March 8th, *ante*.)

[3] William Few.

[4] The Address, which was from the Georgia General Assembly, included, with its complimentary references to Washington, a notice of the grave danger threatening the State from an invasion by the Creek Indians and the difficulties caused by numerous slaves running away, across the line into Spanish territory. The Address, which was signed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, was undated. It is recorded, contemporaneously, with Washington's answer thereto, in the Washington Letter Books, which are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

conversation, and an endeavor to remove the prejudices which he said had been entertained of the motives by which the attending deputation from their society were actuated, he used arguments to show the immorality — injustice — and impolicy of keeping these people in a state of Slavery; with declarations, however, that he did not wish for more than a gradual abolition, or to see any infraction of the Constitution to effect it. To these I replied, that as it was a matter which might come before me for official decision I was not inclined to express any sentimts. on the merits of the question before this should happen.

The day being bad, not many visiters attended the Levee. At it Mr. Smith [1] of South Carolina, presented the copy of an Address from the Intendant and —— of the City of Charleston [2] and was told that I would receive it in form on Thursday at 11 o'clock.

Wednesday, 17*th*. Gave Mr. Few notice that I would receive the address of the Legislature of Georgia to morrow at half after ten o'clock.

Sent to both Houses of Congress the Ratification of the State of Pensylvania, of the amendments proposed by Congress to the Constitution of the Union.[3]

Thursday, 18*th*. At half past 10 I received the address of the Legislature of Georgia — presented by Mr. Few,[4] the Senator, and the 3 Representatives of the State in Congress.[5]

[1] William Smith, Member of Congress.

[2] The Address from the Intendant and Wardens of the City of Charleston was signed by Thomas Jones, Intendant. It was dated, February 18, 1790, and pledged the city to support the new Constitution of the United States. It is copied, contemporaneously, with Washington's reply, in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Pennsylvania's ratification was dated March 10, 1790.

[4] William Few.

[5] Abraham Baldwin, James Jackson, and George Matthews.

At 11 o'clock the address from the Intendant and Wardens of the City of Charleston was presented by Mr. Smith.[1]

The following Gentlemen dined here — viz: Messrs. Livermore, Foster, Patridge, Thatcher, Sherman, Fitzimmons, Hartley, Seney, Lee, Burke, Tucker, Baldwin, Jackson and Mathews [2] of the Representatives in Congress — and Mr. Otis [3] Secretary of the Senate, and Mr. Beckley [4] clerk of the House of Representatives.

In the Evening (about 8 o'clock) I went with Mrs. Washington to the assembly where there were betwn. 60 and 70 Ladies and many Gentlemen.

Friday, 19*th*. Exercised on Horseback betwn. 9 and 11 o'clock.

Information being given by Mr. Van Berkel, that Mr. Cazenove [5] just arrived from Holland, and of a principal Mercantile House there had letters for me which he wished to deliver with his own hands and requested to know when he might be presented for that purpose. It was thought, before this should be done, it might be proper to know whether they were of a public nature, and whether he was acting in a public character. If so, then to let them come to me through the Secretary of State — if not, then for him to send them, that the purport might be known before he was introduced, which might be at the next Levee, when he

[1] William Smith.

[2] Samuel Livermore and Abiel Foster, of New Hampshire; George Partridge and George Thatcher, of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; Thomas Fitzsimons and Thomas Hawley, of Pennsylvania; Joshua Seney, of Maryland; Richard Bland Lee, of Virginia; Ædanus Burke and Thomas Tudor Tucker, of South Carolina; Abraham Baldwin, James Jackson, and George Matthews, of Georgia.

[3] Samuel Allyne Otis. [4] John Beckley.

[5] Theophile Casenove, a Holland banker. He was agent for the Holland Land Company. His original manuscript diary for 1794 is in the Library of Congress, and was published, in 1922, as *Haverford College Studies*, No. 13, by R. W. Kelsey.

might be received and treated agreeably to the consequence he might appear to derive from the testimonials of the letters. It being conceived that etiquette of this sort is essential with all foreigners to give a respect to the Chief Magistrate, and the dignity of the Government, which would be lessened if every person who could procure a letter of introduction should be presented otherwise than at Levee hours in a formal manner.

Saturday, 20*th*. Exercised in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the Children.[1]

Sunday, 21*st*. Went to St. Paul's Chappel in the forenoon — wrote private letters in the afternoon.

Received Mr. Jefferson, Minister of State about one o'clock.[2]

Monday, 22*d*. Sat for Mr. Trumbull for my Picture in his Historical pieces, — after which conversed for more than hour with Mr. Jefferson on business relative to the duties of his office.

Tuesday, 23*d*. A full and very respectable Levee to day, — previous to which I had a conversation with the Secretary of State on the following points, viz: — First with respect to our Captives in Algiers,[3] in which, after detailing their situation — the measures he had taken for their relief — and the train in which the business was in by means of a Genl. — who is at the head of a religious society in France [4] whose practice it is to sollicit aid for the relief of

[1] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[2] Thomas Jefferson. He had accepted the appointment of Secretary of State, December 23, 1789, but the marriage of a daughter and other domestic matters delayed his arrival in New York until March 21, 1790.

[3] Merchant seamen taken prisoners by the Algerian pirates.

[4] Probably Friar John Meheyan, head of the Carmelite Friars.

the unfortunate Christians in Captivity among the Barbarians, it was concluded betwn. us, that it had better remain in that train a while longer, — this person had been authorized to go as far as £150 Sterlg. each, for the ransom of our Captives; but the Algerines demanding a much larger sum it was conceived that acceding to it might establish a precedent which would always operate and be very burthensome if yielded to: and become a much stronger inducement to captivate our People than they now have, as it is more for the sake of the Ransom than for the labour, that they make Slaves of the Prisoners. Mr. Short [1] was to be written to on this subject, and directed to make enquiry of this General *blank* what his expectations of redemption are at present.

Second, — He is of opinion, that excepting the Court of France, there is no occasion to employ higher grades in the Diplomatic line than *Chargé des Affaires:* and that these, by the respectability of their appointments, had better be at the head of their grade, than Ministers Plenipotentiaries by low salaries at the foot of theirs. The reason of the distinction, in favor of a Minister Plenipo' at Versailles, is, that there are more Ambassadors at that Court than any other and therefore that we ought in some measure to approximate our Representative — and besides, its being a Court with which we have much to do.

Third, — With respect to the appointment of Consuls he refers to a letter on the nature of this business — the places where necessary — and the characters best entitled to appointmts. which he had written on the subject, while in France, to the Secretary of Foreign affairs.[2]

[1] William Short, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Paris. He had been Secretary of the United States Legation there. Later he was Minister Resident at The Hague, 1792, and Plenipotentiary with William Carmichael to treat with Spain on the Florida and Mississippi boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi River. He was Minister Resident to Spain, 1794–95.

[2] Jefferson's letter was dated November 18, 1788, and addressed to John Jay. It is ten pages in length and discusses the consular situation with some degree of

Fourth, — That it might be advisable to direct Mr. Carmichael [1] to Sound the Spanish Ministry with respect to the obstacles which had hitherto impeded a Commercial Treaty, to see if there was any disposition in them to relax in their Territorial claims and exclusive right to the Navigation of River Mississippi.

Wednesday, 24th. Prevented from Riding by the unfavourableness of the weather.

Thursday, 25th. Went in the forenoon to the Consecration of Trinity Church,[2] when a Pew was constructed, and set apart for the President of the United Sts.

Received from the Senate their opinion and advice on the Papers which had been submitted to them respecting the Incroachments on the Eastern boundary of the United States, and the disputes consequent thereof.[3]

And from a Comee. of Congress two Acts — one, for establishing the mode for uniformity in Naturalization of Foreigners [4] — the other making appropriations for the support of Government for the year 1790.[5] By this last was granted,

exhaustiveness and with reference to the Consular Convention with France. The original is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 87, vol. II, folio 291, in the Library of Congress.

[1] William Carmichael; delegate to Continental Congress from Maryland, 1778–80; Secretary to Jay's mission to Spain in 1782; was Chargé d'Affaires in Spain after Jay's return to America. Carmichael returned to the United States in 1794.

[2] Trinity Church, which had been destroyed by the fire in New York in September, 1776, while the British troops held possession of the town, was rebuilt in 1788 on the original site, Broadway, opposite Wall Street. The pew that was set apart for the President was used by Washington at intervals during the remainder of his stay in New York. The present Trinity Church is the third one to be erected on the site.

[3] The Senate had resolved, March 24th, that it was advisable to take measures to settle this boundary dispute and suggested that representations be made to the British Government to that end; if the dispute failed of adjustment through this channel, commissioners should be appointed to negotiate a settlement.

[4] The Naturalization Act was approved March 26th. Citizenship could be obtained, under it, by a two years' residence in the United States.

[5] The Appropriations Act was approved March 26th.

doll'rs	cents	
141.492 —	73 —	for the Civil list.
155.537 —	72 —	War Department.
96.979 —	72 —	Invalid Pensions.
10.000 —		President for Contingent Services of Government.
147.169 —	54 —	For demands enumerated by the Secrety. of the Treas'y on wch. the light Ho. on Cape Henry is includ'd.
120 —		To Jehoiakim McToksin.[1]
96 —		" James Mathers.[2]
96 —		" Gifford Dally.[3]
551.491 —	71.	Total amount.

The following Company dined here to day — viz: — The Chief Justice Jay and his Lady, Genl. Schuyler and his Lady, the Secretary of the Treasury [4] and his Lady, the Secretary of War [5] and his Lady and Mrs. Greene, the Secretary of State (Mr. Jefferson), Mr. Carrol and Mr. Henry [6] of Senate, Judge Wilson, Messrs. Madison and Page of the Ho. of Representatives, and Colo. Smith, Marshall of the District.

Friday, 26th. Had a further conversation with the Secretary of State on the subject of Foreign appointments, and on the Provision which was necessary for Congress to make for them [7] — the result of which was that under all circumstances it might be best to have Ministers Plenip'y at the Courts of France and England (if any advances from the latter should be made) and Chargés des Affaires in Spain and Portugal — Whether it might be necessary to

[1] McToksin was paid for his services as interpreter and guide on General John Sullivan's expedition against the Six Nations in 1779.
[2] Mathers was Doorkeeper of the Senate; he later became Sergeant-at-Arms.
[3] Dally was Doorkeeper of the House.
[4] Alexander Hamilton.
[5] Henry Knox.
[6] Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and John Henry, of Maryland.
[7] See diary entries for May 30th and July 1st, *post.*

send a person in this character to Holland — one in the character of Resident — or simply a person well skilled in commercial matters among other characters being questionable, nothing finally was decided — but it was concluded that the Secretary's information to a Committee of Congress with whom he was to converse on the subject of the Provision to be made, that the salaries allowed to our Diplomatic characters was too low — that the Grades which wd. be fixed on, to transact our affairs abroad would be as low as they cd. be made without giving umbrage, that therefore, about 36,000 dollrs. might answer as a provision for the characters to the Courts before named — or that it might take forty-nine or 50,000 dollars if it should be found that the lesser grades will not answer.

The company this evening was thin, especially of Ladies.

Saturday, 27*th.* Exercised in the coach with Mrs. Washington and the children.[1]

Sunday, 28*th.* Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, 29*th.* Exercised on Horseback in the forenoon — and called at Colo. Walton White's.[2]

Tuesday, 30*th.* Exercised in the Post Chaise with Mrs. Washington.

The Company at the Levee to day was numerous and respectable.

Wednesday, 31*st.* Exercised on Horseback.

[1] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[2] Anthony Walton White. He had been colonel of the First Continental Dragoons, during the Revolution.

APRIL

Thursday, the *First.* Received from a Comee. of both Houses of Congress — the following acts — viz: — "An Act to accept a cession of the claims of the State of No. Carolina to a certain District of Western Territory," [1] and "an Act to prevent the exportation of Goods not duly inspected according to the Laws of the several States." [2]

Communicated to both Houses of Congress a letter from the Govr. of So. Carolina,[3] enclosing the adoption of the amendments [4] by that State agreeably to the recommendation of Congress.

The following Company dined here to day. viz; — Governor Clinton, Speaker of the Senate [5] and House of Representatives [6] of the State of New York, Judge Duane, Baron de Steuben and Mr. Arthur Lee.[7] Mr. King of the Senate, and the following members of the House of Representatives — Mr. Leonard, Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Grout, Mr. Van Rensalaer, Mr. Hathrop, Mr. Clymer, Mr. Heister, Mr. Stone, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Ash and Mr. Huger.[8]

Friday, 2*d.* Deposited the above Acts in the Secretary of State's Office and informed the Houses of Congress thereof.

But a thin company this Evening, on acct. of the badness of the weather, and its being good friday.

[1] See note to entry for January 29, 1790, as to cession of North Carolina, *post.*

[2] This and the preceding Act were both approved April 2d.

[3] Governor Thomas Pinckney.

[4] South Carolina adopted the Amendments to the United States Constitution, January 19, 1790.

[5] Isaac Roosevelt, President *pro tem.* of the New York Senate.

[6] Gulian Verplanck, Speaker of the New York House of Representatives.

[7] Formerly one of the United States Commissioners to Paris during the Revolution and a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress.

[8] George Leonard, Thomas Sedgwick, and Jonathan Grout, of Massachusetts; Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and John Hathorn, of New York; George Clymer and Daniel Heister, of Pennsylvania; Michael J. Stone, of Maryland; Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina; John B. Ashe and Daniel Huger, of South Carolina; and John Brown, of Virginia.

Saturday, 3d. Exercised in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the Children.[1]

Gave notice to the Senate House of Congress that I had given my assent to the act accepting the cession of No. Carolina, and to the other House that I had passed the Bill to prevent the exportation of Goods, not duly inspected according to the Laws of the several States, these being the Houses in wch. they respectively originated.

Received from the Governor of the State of New York three acts of its Legislature — one [2] adopting the amendments (except the 2d.) proposed by Congress — another ceding the Light House, at the Hook [3] to the United States, and the third authorizing and commanding the Goalers throughout the State to receive and safe keep Prisoners committed under the Authority of the United States.

Sunday, 4th. At home all day — unwell.

Monday, 5th. Exercised with Mrs. Washington in the Post Chaise.

Sent duplicates of the Acts received (as above) from the Executive of New York to both Houses of Congress for their information; and deposited the originals in the Secretary of States Office.

Tuesday, 6th. Sat for Mr. Savage, at the request of the Vice-President, to have my Portrait drawn for him.[4]

The Company at the Levee to day was thin, the day was bad.

Wednesday, 7th. Exercised with Mrs. Washington in the Post-Chaise.

[1] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.
[2] March 27, 1790. [3] Sandy Hook.
[4] This portrait, by Edward Savage, is said to be the second one he painted of Washington. It is still in the Adams home, Quincy, Massachusetts.

Thursday, 8*th*. The following Company dined here — viz — of the House of Representatives — Mr. Gerry, Mr. Huntingdon, Mr. Cadwalader, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Sinnichson, Mr. Scott, Mr. Gale, Mr. Parker, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Brown, of the Treasury Department, the Comptroller (Mr. Eveleigh,) [1] the Auditor, (Mr. Walcot),[2] and the Register Mr. Nourse [3] — and of the Commissioners of Accts. Genl. Irvine,[4] and Mr. Keen [5] — together with Mr. Gore,[6] attorney for the District of Massachusetts.

Friday, 9*th*. Exercised on Horseback in the forenoon. Received the "Act for the encouragement of Arts" from a Comee. of Congress.[7]

The company who visited Mrs. Washington this afternoon was very numerous both of Gentlemen and Ladies.

Saturday, 10*th*. Exercised in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the Children [8] — walked in the afternoon round the Battery and through some of the principal Streets of the City.

In the afternoon the Secretary of State [9] submitted for my approbation Letters of credence for Mr. Short as Chargé de Affaires at the Court of Versailles, and his own Letter to Monsr. Montmorin, taking leave of that Court both directed to that Minister — also to Mr. Short on the subject of our Prisoners at Algiers. — And at Night he submitted the copy of a letter he had drafted to Mr. Carmichael, respecting the Governor of the Island of Juan Fernandez who had been disgraced and recalled from his Government of that Island for having permitted the ship

[1] Nicholas Eveleigh. [2] Oliver Wolcott. [3] Joseph Nourse.
[4] William Irvine. [5] John Kean. [6] Christopher Gore.

[7] An Act to Promote the Progress of the Useful Arts. It was approved May 31st. This was the first patent law and granted patent rights to inventors for a term of fourteen years.

[8] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[9] Thomas Jefferson.

Washington which had suffered in a storm to put into that Port to repair the damages she had sustained in it, and to recruit her wood and water, — this ship belongs to Banel and Co. of Boston.

Sunday, 11*th*. Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon — and [wrote] several private letters in the afternoon.

Monday, 12*th*. Exercised on Horseback after which did business with the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments.[1] — The latter was directed to authorize the Judge of the Western district Harry Innis [2] to permit the County Lieutenants of that District to employ 4 scouts in each of the Frontier Counties for the purpose of discovering the movements of the Indians and giving the alarm in case they are about — the other Frontier Counties along the River Ohio East side above the Kentucky district was also authorized to keep out the same number of scouts.

The Secretary of State submitted the draught of a Report to me, which he was about to make to the House of Representatives in Congress consequent of a letter and other Papers which had been referred to him on the subject of coinage,[3] — which report appeared to me to be sensible and proper.

Tuesday, 13*th*. Exercised on Horseback about 10 o'clock.

A good deal of Company at the Levee to day.

Received from the Joint Committee of Congress "An

[1] Alexander Hamilton and Henry Knox.

[2] Harry Innes. In 1776 he was a member of the Virginia Committee of Safety; in 1783, Judge of Supreme Court of the Kentucky District of Virginia; and in 1787 United States District Judge of Kentucky. He married a daughter of John J. Crittenden.

[3] The House of Representatives had referred to Jefferson an offer from John H. Michael, an Englishman, to furnish copper coins to the United States. Jefferson advised against accepting the offer for cogent reasons. His report is printed in the *American State Papers* (1832), *Finance*, I, p. 44.

Act furthr. to suspend pt. of an act to regulate the Collectn. of the Duties imposed by Law on the Tonnage of Ships," etc. etc.

Wednesday, 14*th*. Exercised in the Post Chaise with Mrs. Washington.

Thursday, 15*th*. Returned the above Act (presented to me on Tuesday,) to the House of Representatives in Congress in which it originated with my approbation and signature.

The following Company dined here to day — viz. —

The Vice President [1] and Lady, Mr. Dalton and Lady, Bishop Provost and Lady, Judge Griffin [2] and Lady Christina, Colo. Griffin [3] and Lady, Colo. Smith [4] and Lady, the Secretary of State, [5] Mr. Langdon, Mr. King and Major Butler. Mrs. King was invited but was indisposed.

Friday, 16*th*. Had a long conference with the Secretary of State on the subject of Diplomatic appointments — and on the proper places and characters for Consuls or Vice Consuls.

After which I exercised on Horseback.

The Visiters of Gentlemen and Ladies to Mrs. Washington this evening were very numerous.

Saturday, 17*th*. Exercised in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the children.[6]

Sunday, 18*th*. At home all day — the weather being very stormy and bad, wrote private letters.

Monday, 19*th*. Prevented from beginning my tour upon

[1] John Adams. [2] Cyrus Griffin. [3] Colonel Samuel Griffin.
[4] Colonel William Stephens Smith. [5] Thomas Jefferson.
[6] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

Long Island to day from the wet of yesterday and the unfavourableness of the morning.

Conversed with the Secretary at War [1] on the formation of the Troops proposed, by the amendments in the Senate [2] to be established.

Tuesday, 20*th*. About 8 o'clock (having previously sent over my Servants, Horses, and Carriage,) I crossed to Brooklyn and proceeded to Flat Bush — thence to Utrich — thence to Gravesend — thence through —— Jamaica where we lodged at a Tavern kept by one Warne [3] — a pretty good and decent house, — at the house of a Mr. Barre, at Utrich,[4] we dined, — the man was obliging but little else to recommend it. He told me that their average Crop of Oats did not exceed 15 bushls. to the acre — but of Indian Corn they commonly made from 25 to 30 and often more bushels to the acre, but this was the effect of Dung from New York (about 10 cart load to the acre) — That of Wheat they sometimes got 30 bushels and often more of Rye.

The land after crossing the Hills between Brooklyn and flat Bush is perfectly level, and from the latter to Utrich, Gravesend and in short all that end of the Island is a rich black loam — afterwards, between —— and the Jamaica Road, it is more sandy and appears to have less strength, but is still good and productive. The grain in general had suffered but little by the openess, and Rains of the Winter and the grass (clover, etc.) appeared to be coming on well, — the Inclosures are small, and under open Post and Rail fencing. The timber is chiefly Hiccory and Oak, mixed here and there with locust and Sasafras trees, — and in places with a good deal of Cedar. The Road until I came

[1] Henry Knox.

[2] The Act for Regulating the Military Establishment had been under debate in the Senate since the latter part of March.

[3] Probably William Warne.

[4] New Utrecht.

within a mile or two of the Jamaica Road called the middle road kept within sight of the Sea, but the weather was so dull and at times Rainy that we lost much of the pleasures of the ride.

From Brooklyn to Flatbush is called 5 miles, thence to Utrich 6 — to Gravesend 2 — and from thence to Jamaica 14 — in all this day 27 miles.

Before I left New York this morning, I signed Commissions, appointing Mr. Carmichael Chargé des Affaires at the Court of Versailles,[1] and Mr. Short, Chargé des Affaires at the Court of Versailles which though not usually given to Diplomatic Characters of their Grades was yet made necessary in the opinion of the Secretary of State by an Act of Congress.

Wednesday, 21*st*. The morning being clear and pleasant we left Jamaica about eight o'clock, and pursued the Road to South Hempstead, passing along the South edge of the plain of that name — a plain said to be 14 miles in length by 3 or 4 in breadth witho't. a Tree or a shrub growing on it except fruit trees (which do not thrive well at the few settlemts. thereon.) The soil of this plain is said to be thin and cold, and of course not productive, even in Grass. We baited in South Hempstead, (10 miles from Jamaica) at the House of one Simmonds, formerly a Tavern, now of private entertainment for money. From thence turning off to the right, we fell into the South Rd. at the distance of about five miles where we came in view of the Sea and continued to be so the remaining part of the day's ride, and as near it as the road could run, for the small bays, marshes and guts, into which the tide flows at all times rendering it impassible from the hight of it by the Easterly winds. We dined at one Ketchum's [2] wch. had also been a public House, but

[1] A pen-slip. Madrid, Spain, is, of course, meant.
[2] Zebulon Ketcham's Inn, at what is now Amityville.

now a private one — received pay for what it furnished — this House was about 14 miles from South Hempstead and a very neat and decent one. After dinner we proceeded to a Squire Thompson's [1] such a House as the last, that is, one that is not public but will receive pay for every thing it furnishes in the same manner as if it was.

The Road in which I passed to day, and the Country here more mixed with sand than yesterday and the soil of inferior quality; — yet with dung which all the Corn ground receives the land yields on an average 30 bushels to the acre often more. Of wheat they do not grow much on acct. of the Fly but the crops of Rye are good.

Thursday, 22*d*. About 8 o'clock we left Mr. Thompson's — halted awhile at one Greens distant 11 miles and dined [at] Harts Tavern in Brookhaven township, five miles farther. To this place we travelled on what is called the South road described yesterday, but the country through which it passed grew more and more sandy and barren as we travelled Westward, so as to become exceedingly poor indeed, but a few miles further Eastward the lands took a different complexion we were informed. From Hart's we struck across the Island for the No. side passing the East end of the Brushey Plains — and Koram 8 miles — thence to Setakit [2] 7 miles more to the House of a Capt. Roe,[3] which is tolerably dect. with obliging people in it.

The first five miles of the Road is too poor to admit Inhabitants or cultivation being a low scrubby Oak, not more than 2 feet high intermixed with small and ill thriven Pines. Within two miles of Koram [4] there are farms, but the land is of an indifferent quality much mixed with sand, — Koram contains but few houses — from thence to Setaket the soil improves, especially as you approach the

[1] Probably Judge Isaac Thompson.
[2] Setauket.
[3] Captain Nathaniel Roe.
[4] Coram.

Sound; but it is far from being of the first quality — still a good deal mixed with Sand. The road across from the So. to the No. side is level, except a small part of So. of Koram, but the hills there are trifling.

Friday, 23*d*. About 8 o'clock we left Roe's, and baited the Horses at Smiths Town at a Widow Blidenberg's a decent House 10 miles from Setalkat — thence 15 miles to Huntington where we dined — and afterwards proceeded seven miles to Oyster-Bay, to the House of a Mr. Young (private and very neat and decent) where we lodged. The house we dined at in Huntington was kept by a Widow Platt,[1] and was tolerably good. The whole of this days ride was over uneven ground and none of it of the first quality but intermixed in places with pebble stone. After passing Smithstown and for near five miles it was a mere bed of white Sand, unable to produce trees 25 feet high; but a change for the better took place between that and Huntington, which is a sml. village at the head of the Harbour of that name and continued to improve to Oyster-bay about which the Sands are good — and in the Necks between these bays are said to be fine. It is here the Lloyds [2] own a large and valuable tract or Neck of Land from whom the British whilst they possessed New York drew large supplies of wood — and where, at present, it is said large flocks of Sheep are kept.

Saturday, 24*th*. Left Mr. Youngs before 6 o'clock and passing Musqueto Cove,[3] breakfasted at a Mr. Underdunck's [4] at the head of a little bay; there we were kindly

[1] Probably the widow of Jonas Platt. The names of the Long Island people mentioned by Washington cannot be identified easily. The Census of 1790 contains many surnames alike in the localities through which Washington passed.

[2] Lloyd's Neck, so called from the original owner, James Lloyd, of Boston, who obtained a patent to the land from Governor Andros. The Neck was a headquarters for loyalist militia during the Revolution.

[3] 'Mosqueto' is now Glen Cove. [4] Henry Onderdonk.

received and well entertained. This Gentleman works a Grist and two Paper Mills, the last of which he seems to carry on with spirit, and to profit — distc. from Oyster-bay 12 miles. From hence to Flushing where we dined is 12 more — and from thence to Brooklyne through Newton (the way we travelled and which is a mile further than to pass through Jamaica) is 18 miles more. The land I passed over to day is generally very good, but leveller and better as we approached New York — the soil in places is intermixed with pebble, and towards the West end with other kind of stone, which they apply to the purposes of fencing which is not to be seen on the South side of the Island, nor towards the Eastern parts of it. From Flushing to New Town 8 miles and thence to Brooklyn, the Road is very fine, and the Country in a higher state of cultivation and vegetation of Grass and grain forwarded than any place also, I had seen, occasioned in a great degree by the Manure drawn from the City of New York, — before sundown we had crossed the Ferry and was at home.

Observations.

This Island (as far as I went) from West to East seems to be equally divided between flat and Hilly land, the former on the South next the Seaboard, and the latter on the No. next the Sound. The highland they say is best and most productive, but the other is the pleasantest to work, except in wet seasons when from the levelness of them they are sometimes, (but not frequently having a considerable portion of Sand) incommoded by heavy and continual rains. From a comparative view of their crops they may be averaged as follows: — Indian Corn 25 bushels — Wheat 15 — Rye 12 — Oats 15 bushels to the acre. According to their accts. from Lands highly manured they sometimes get 50 of the first, 25 of the 2d and 3d, and more of the latter.

Their general mode of Cropping is, — first Indian Corn

upon a lay, manured in the hill, half a shovel full in each hole — (some scatter the dung over the field equally) — 2d. Oats and Flax — 3d. Wheat with what manure they can spare from the Indian Corn land — with the Wheat, or on it, towards close of the Snows, they sow Clover from 4 to 6 lb; and a quart of Timothy Seed. This lays from 3 to 6 years according as the grass remains, or as the condition of the ground is, for so soon as they find it beginning to bind, they plow. Their first plowing (with the Patent tho' they call it the Dutch plow) is well executed at the depth of about 3 or at most 4 Inches — the cut being 9 or 10 Inches and the sod neatly and very evenly turned. With Oxen they plough mostly. They do no more than turn the ground in this manner for Indian Corn before it is planted; making the holes in which it is placed with hoes the rows being marked off by a stick — two or three workings afterwards with the Harrows or Plough is all the cultivation it receives *generally*. Their fences, where there is no Stone, are very indifferent; frequently of plashed trees of *any* and *every* kind which have grown by chance; but it exhibits an evidence that very good fences may be made in this manner either of white Oak or Dogwood which from this mode of treatment grows thickest, and most stubborn. — This however, would be no defence against Hogs.

Sunday, 25th. Went to Trinity Church, and wrote letters home after dinner.

Monday, 26th. Did business with the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War,[1] and appointed a quarter before three to-morrow to receive from the Senators of the State of Virgna.[2] an address from the Legislature thereof.[3]

[1] Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Henry Knox.
[2] Richard Henry Lee and John Walker.
[3] See note to entry for April 27th.

Tuesday, 27*th*. Had some conversation with Mr. Madison on the propriety of consulting the Senate on the places to which it would be necessary to send persons in the Diplomatic line, and Consuls; and with respect to the grade of the first — His opinion coincides with Mr. Jay's and Mr. Jefferson's — to wit — that they have no Constitutional right to interfere with either, and that it might be impolitic to draw it into a precedent, their powers extending no farther than to an approbation or disapprobation of the person nominated by the President, all the rest being Executive and vested in the President by the Constitution.

At the time appointed, Messrs. Lee and Walker (the Senators from Virginia) attended, and presented the Address [1] as mentioned yesterday and received an answer to it.

A good deal of respectable company was at the Levee to day.

Wednesday, 28*th*. Fixed with the Secretary of State [2] on places and characters for the Consulate [3] — but as some of the latter were unknown to both of us he was directed to make enquiry respecting them.

Sent the nominations of the officers in the Customs of North Carolina,[4] and one in the place of Mr. Jacob Wray [5] of Hampton in Virginia — who has requested to resign his

[1] The Address, the usual complimentary form, undated, is contemporaneously entered, with Washington's reply, in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Thomas Jefferson.

[3] These nominations were sent to the Senate June 4th. Fourteen consuls for Europe and the West Indies were provided. The Senate concurred in all except the candidate for Bilboa, Spain, and the one or two places for which foreigners were named. The list is copied into Communications with Congress, vol. 1, Washington Papers, Library of Congress, and is printed in *The Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1828), vol. 1, under the given date.

[4] These nominations are copied into Communications with Congress, vol. 1, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] George Wray was named to succeed James.

appointment, — to the Senate for their advice and consent thereon.

Received from the Secretary for the Department of War a report respecting the Sale of certain Lands by the State of Georgia and the consequent disputes in which the United States may be involved with the Chickasaws and Choctaw Nations; [1] part, if not the whole of whose Countries, are included within the limits of the said Sale. This report refers to the Act, of the Legislature of Georgia, by which this Sale is authorized [2] — and to the opinion of the Attorney General [3] respecting the Constitutionality of the Proceeding — Submitting at the same time certain opinions for the consideration of the Presidt.

Thursday, 29*th*. Received from the Joint Committee of Congress two Acts for my approbation and Signature — viz: —

One for "Regulating the Military Establishment of the United States," [4] and the other, "An Act for the Punishment of certain crimes against the United States." [5]

Fixed with the Secretary of State on the present which (according to the custom of other Nations) should be made to Diplomatic characters when they return from that employment in this Country — and this was a gold Medal, suspended to a gold Chain — in ordinary to be of the value of about 120 or 130 Guineas — Upon enquiry into the practice of other Countries, it was found, that France

[1] The beginnings of a land difficulty with the Indians and the State of Georgia that continued in one form or another into the Administration of President Andrew Jackson.

[2] This Act of Georgia was dated December 21, 1789. By it the State disposed of certain of these Indian lands to various land companies. (See diary entry and note, April 30th, *post*.) Georgia first began to dispose of the Indian lands by bounty grants to her Revolutionary War soldiers.

[3] Edmund Randolph.

[4] Approved, April 30th, *q.v.*

[5] Approved April 30th. The crimes designated were treason (as defined in the Act), murder, theft, destruction of United States property, etc.

generally gave a gold Snuff-box set with diamonds; and of differt. costs; to the amount, *generally*, to a Minister Plenipotentiary of 500 Louisdores — That England usually gave to the same grade 300 guineas in *Specie* — and Holld. a Medal and Chain of the value of in common, 150 or 180 guineas the value of which to be encreased by an additional weight in the chain when they wished to mark a distinguished character. The Reason why a Medal and Chain was fixed upon for the American present, is, that the die being once made the Medals could at any time be struck at very little cost and the chain made by our artisans, which (while the first should be retained as a memento [1]) might be converted into Cash.

The following Gentlemen dined here — viz — of the Senate, Messrs. Strong, Doctr. Johnson, Mr. Patterson, Mr. Morris, Mr. Carroll, Mr. Lee, Mr. Walker, Govr. Johnston, and Mr. Gunn [2] — and of the House of Representatives, Mr. Sturges, Mr. Benson, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Scureman, Mr. Vining, Mr. Smith Maryland, Mr. Bland, and Mr. Sumpter.[3]

Friday, 30*th*. Conversed with the Secretary of the Treasury, on the Report of the Secretary at War's propositions

[1] The design of the medal was to some extent left to William Short, the United States Chargé d'Affaires at Paris. Jefferson directed that the medal be 'thirty-six lines in diameter,' with a loop on the rim, for the chain. The arms of the United States to be on one side, surrounded by the legend 'United States of America.' For the other side he suggested Columbia delivering emblems of peace and commerce to Mercury, with the legend 'Peace and Commerce' and date 'IV July MDCCLXXVI'; but left this to Short and the French artists who were to make the die.

[2] Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts; Dr. William Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut; William Paterson, of New Jersey; Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania; Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, of Maryland; Richard Henry Lee and John Walker, of Virginia; Governor Samuel Johnston, of North Carolina; and James Gunn, of Georgia.

[3] Jonathan Sturges, of Connecticut; Egbert Benson and William Floyd, of New York; James Schureman, of New Jersey; John Vining, of Delaware; William Smith, of Maryland; Theodorick Bland, of Virginia; and Thomas Sumter, of South Carolina.

respecting the Conduct of the State of Georgia in selling to certain companies,[1] large tracts of their Western territory and a proclamation which he conceived expedient to issue in consequence of it.[2] But as he had doubts of the clearness of the ground on which it was proposed to build this proclamation and do the other acts which were also submitted in the report — I placed it in the hands of the Secretary of State to consider and give me his opinion thereon.

Returnd. the Bills which had been presented to me by the joint committee of Congress on Thursday to the Houses in which they originated with my signature, though I did not conceive that the Military establishment of the one was adequate to the exigencies of the Government, and the protection it was intended to afford.[3]

The Visitors to Mrs. Washington this evening were not numerous.

MAY

Saturday, 1*st*. Exercised in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the children [4] in the forenoon — and on foot in the afternoon.

Mr. Alexr. White, representative from Virginia, communicated his apprehensions that a disposition prevailed among the Eastern and Northern States, (discoverable from many circumstances, as well as from some late expressions which had fallen from some of their members in

[1] By Georgia's Act of December 21, 1789, that State disposed of certain of the Indian lands to the so-called Yazoo Company, the Virginia Yazoo Company, and the Tennessee Company.

[2] The President issued this proclamation August 25th. It called attention to the treaty obligations of the United States with the Indians and laid down certain regulations for the Indian trade. Knox reported on the entire situation in a very comprehensive manner, January 22, 1791, and this report is printed in *American State Papers* (1832), *Indians*, vol. I, p. 112.

[3] The inadequacy lay in the small size of the regular army provided. It was enlisted for three years and amounted to but 1680 officers and men.

[4] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

the Ho.) to pay little attention to the Western Country because they were of opinion it would soon shake off its dependence on this, and in the meantime would be burthensome to it.

He gave some information also of the temper of the Western Settlers, of their dissatisfactions, and among other things that few of the Magistrates had taken the oath to the New Government, not inclining in the present state of things and under their ideas of neglect to bind themselves to it by an oath.[1]

Sunday, 2*d*. Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon — writing letters on private business in the afternoon — among other letters one by my order to Genl. Moylan,[2] to know if he would accept the Consulate at Lisbon, as it was not proposed to give Salaries therewith.

Monday, 3*d*. Exercised on Horseback about 9 o'clock.

After my return, the Secretary of the Treasury [3] called upon me, and informed me that by some conversation he had had with Mr. King, (of the Senate) it appeared that there was a probability the Senate would take up the Sales by the Legislature of Georgia, and the affairs of the Indians which would be involved therein in a serious manner; and gave it as his opinion that if this was likely to be the case, it might be better for me to let the matter originate there, than with the Executive.

The Secretary of State [4] furnished me with his opinion on these subjects — see his Statement — the substance of it is, that the State of Georgia by having adopted the Con-

[1] White's apprehensions were respecting the Watauga region, and the territory from which the States of Kentucky and Tennessee were afterward formed.

[2] Stephen Moylan, aide to Washington during the Revolution, and United States Commissioner of Loans in 1800.

[3] Alexander Hamilton.

[4] Thomas Jefferson. An autograph draft, signed, of this opinion, dated May 3, 1790, is in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

stitution, relinquished their right to treat with, or to regulate any matters with the Indians who were not subject thereto — consequently could not delegate a power they did not possess to others and that there was good and strong ground on which to contend this matter — but inasmuch as there was a party in the State opposed to the Sales before mentioned, but which might unite to defeat a Proclamation if one should be issued upon the Plan of the Secretary at War, he suggested the propriety of a representation to the State in the first instance for the purpose of undoing in a manner least hurtful to the feelings of it, the impolitic act of the Legislature [1] — and in the meantime — at the meeting proposed to be held by the Indians in the Month of June ensuing to make these people perfectly sensible of the Sentiments and intentions of the general Government towards them.[2]

Tuesday, 4th. Exercised in the forenoon on Horseback.
A respectable Company at the Levee to-day.

Wednesday, 5th. Requested General Rufus Putnam [3] — lately appointed a Judge in the Western Government — and who was on the eve of his departure for that Country to give me the best discription of the proximity of the Waters of the Ohio and Lake Erie — the nature of their navigations — Portages, etc. — also of the occurrences in the Country — the population of it — Temper of the people, etc. etc.

[1] December 21, 1789. (See diary entries and notes April 28th and April 30, 1790, *ante*.)

[2] Jefferson's idea was to send a Government agent to the Indians, to inform them of the attitude of the United States, and for him to remain among the tribes and observe and report on the developments of the land affair.

[3] Rufus Putnam, cousin to General Israel Putnam. Brigadier-general and Judge of Supreme Court, North-West Territory; was with Wayne's Indian expedition, 1792; 1792–93, United States Commissioner to treat with Indians of the North-West Territory. He was Superintendent of the Ohio Company; founded Marietta; Surveyor-General of the United States, 1793–1803.

Thursday, 6*th*. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon — The following, out of several others who were invited, but prevented by sickness, dined here — viz. Mr. Wingate, Mr. Maclay, Mr. Walker (of the Senate), and Messrs. Gilman, Aimes, Genl. Muhlenburg, Wynkoop, Page and Lady, Smith So. Carolina and Lady, and Mr. White and his Lady of the House of Representatives.

Friday, 7*th*. Exercised in the forenoon — Endeavoured through various channels to ascertain what places required, and the characters fittest for Consuls at them.

As the House of Representatives had reduced the Sum, in a Bill to provide for the expences of characters in the diplomatic line, below what would enable the Executive to employ the number which the exigencies of Government might make necessary,[1] I thought it proper to intimate to a member or two of the Senate the places that were in contemplation to send persons to in this line — viz: — to France and England (when the latter manifested a disposition to treat us with more respect than she had done upon a former occasion) Ministers Plenipotentiary — and to Spain, Portugal and Holland Chargé des Affaires, and having an opportunity, mentioned the matter unofficially both to Mr. Carroll and Mr. Izard.

Much Company — Gentlemen and Ladies — visited Mrs. Washington this evening.

Saturday, 8*th*. Exercised in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the Children [2] in the forenoon.

Received from Genl. Knox,[3] Secretary Genl. of the triennial Genl. Meeting of the Cincinnati held at Philadelphia the first Monday of this Month, the Copy of an Address [4]

[1] See entry for June 30th, *post*.

[2] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[3] Henry Knox.

[4] This Address was dated May 4th; Washington's reply is undated. Both

from that body to me to which I was to return an answer on —— next.

Sunday, 9*th*. Indisposed with a bad cold, and at home all day writing letters on private business.

A severe illness with which I was siezed the 10th of this month and which left me in a convalescent state for several weeks after the violence of it had passed; and little inclination to do more than what duty to the public required at my hands occasioned the suspension of this Diary.[1]

JUNE

Thursday, 24*th*. Exercised on horseback betwn. 5 and 7 o'clock, P.M.

Entertained the following Gentlemen at Dinner, viz; — Messrs. Gerry, Goodhue, Grout, Leonard, Huntingdon, Benson, Boudinot, Cadwalader, Sinnichson, Heister, Scott, Contee, Stone, Brown, and Moore of the House of Representatives.

Received from the Committee of Enrollment the Act for extending the Judiciary Law to the State of Rhode Island and Providence Planns.[2]

Friday, 25*th*. Constant and heavy Rain all day, prevented Company visiting Mrs. Washington this afternoon and all kinds of Exercise.

Saturday, 26*th*. Exercised in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the Children [3] and by walking in the afternoon.

Address and reply are contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter-Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[1] The 'severe illness,' which nearly proved fatal, was in the nature of inflammation of the lungs; probably pneumonia.

[2] Rhode Island had joined the Union by adopting the Constitution, May 29, 1790.

[3] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

Sunday, 27*th*. Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon — employed myself in writing business in the afternoon.

Monday, 28*th*. Exercised between 5 and 7 o'clock in the morning and drank Tea with Mrs. Clinton (the Governors Lady) in the afternoon.

Tuesday 29*th*. Exercised between 5 and 7 o'clock in the morning on horseback.

A good deal of Company, amongst which several strangers and some foreigners at the Levee to day.

On consultation with the Secretary of State to day, it was thought advisable to direct him to provide two Medals, one for the Marqs. de la Luzerne,[1] formerly Minister Plenipo. from France to the U. States of America, and the other for Mr. Van Berkel late Minister from Holland; and to have the Dies with which they were to be struck in France, sent over here. The cost of these Medals would be about 30 Guineas; but the Chain for that designed for the Marqs. de la Luzerne (on acct. of his attachment and Services to this Country) was directed to Cost about 200 Guineas — the other about 100 Guins.

Wednesday, 30*th*. Recd. from the Committee of Enrollment the following Acts. viz: — "An Act providing the means of intercourse between the United States and foreign Nations." By which the President of the United States is authorized to draw from the Treasury 40,000 dollars annually, for the support of such persons as he shall Commission to serve the U. States in foreign pts. and for the expense incident to the business in which they may be employed. Not *more* than 9000 Dollars to be allowed to a Minister Plenipotentiary, nor 4500 to a Chargé des Affaires, except

[1] Anne César, Chevalier de La Luzerne, Minister Plenipotentiary from France to the United States during the greater part of the Revolutionary War.

the outfit to each, which shall not exceed one year's salary; nor shall more than 1300 dollars [1] be allowed to the Secretary of any Minister Plenipotentiary. The President is to acct. specifically for all such expenditures as in his judgment may be made public — and also for the amount of such Expenditures, as he may think it advisable not to specify, and cause a regular statement thereof to be laid before Congress annually.

"An Act, for the Relief of Nathaniel Twining" [2] and "An Act to satisfy the Claims of John McCord against the United States." [3] These several Acts were presented to me about 10 o'clock A.M.

JULY

Thursday, 1*st*. Exercised between 5 and 7 o'clock on Horseback.

Announced to the House of Representatives (where the Bills originated) that my signature had been given to the Acts above mentioned.

Having put into the hands of the Vice President [4] of the U. States the Communications of Mr. Gouvr. Morris,[5] who had been empowered to make informal enquiries how well disposed the British Ministry might be to enter into Commercial regulations with the United States, and to fulfil the

[1] The Act, as approved July 1st, allowed the Secretary to the Minister $1350. It was to remain in force for two years and the end of the next session of Congress thereafter and no longer.

[2] Twining had failed in executing his contract to deliver the United States mails between Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia, from September to January, 1787/8, and this Act remitted the penalties of his failure.

[3] McCord had furnished provisions and other aid to the United States troops in Canada in 1776.

[4] John Adams.

[5] Gouverneur Morris's letters, dated April 7th and May 29, 1790, reporting his interviews with Francis Osborne, Duke of Leeds, and William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, are printed in *American State Papers* (1832), *Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, pp. 122 and 123. The original manuscripts are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, under the given dates.

Articles of Peace respecting our Western Posts, and the Slaves which had been carried from this Country, he expressed his approbation that this step had been taken; and added that the disinclination of the British Cabinet to comply with the two latter, and to evade the former, as evidently appears from the Correspondence of Mr. Morris with the Duke of Leeds (the British Minister for Foreign Affairs) was of a piece with their conduct towds. him whilst Minister at that Court; and just what he expected; and that to have it ascertained was necessary.

He thought, as a rupture betwn. England and Spain was almost inevitable, that it would be our policy and interest to take part with the latter as he was very apprehensive that New Orleans was an object with the former; their possessing which would be very injurious to us; but he observed, at the same time, that the situation of our affairs would not justify the measure unless the People themselves (of the United States) should take the lead in the business.

Received about three o'clock, official information from Colo. Willet, that he was on the return from the Creek Nation (whither he had been sent with design to bring Colo. McGillivray, and some of the Chiefs of these people to the City of New York for the purpose of treating,) that he with the said McGillivray and many of the head men, were advanced as far as Hopewell in So. Carolina on their way hither — and that they should proceed by the way of Richmond with as much expedition as the nature of the case wd. admit.

It having been reported upon information being received at St. Augustine of Colo. McGillivrays intention of coming to this place that advice thereof was immediately forwarded by the Commandant of the place to the Governor of the Havanah — And a Mr. Howard [1] Secretary of East

[1] Carlos Howard.

Florida and an influential character there, and on pretext of bad health, and a Spanish Armed Brig of 20 Guns, ostensibly to bring 50,000 dollars for the purpose of buying Flour, arriving here immediately thereupon, affording strong ground to suspect that the money and the character above mentioned, were sent here for the purpose of Counteracting the Negotiations which was proposed to be held with Colo. McGillivray and the other Chiefs of the Creeks — and this suspicion being corroberated by Mr. Howard's visit to Philadelphia, I directed the Secretary at War to advertise Colo. Willet thereof — that he might, if a meeting should take place at Philadelphia, or elsewhere on the Rd. observe their conduct and penetrate if possible into the object of it. He was desired at the same time to make suitable provision for lodging, and otherwise entertaining Colo. McGillivray and his party.

The following Gentn. and Ladies dined here to day — viz. — The Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary at War and their Ladies; Mr. Dalton and Mr. King and their Ladies, Mr. Butler and his two daughters, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Stanton,[1] and Mr. Foster,[2] and Mr. Izard; The Chief Justice [3] and his Lady. Genl. Schuyler and Mrs. Izard were also invited but were otherwise engaged.

Friday, 2nd. Exercised between 5 and 7 on horseback.

About one o'clock, official accounts of the safety of Major Doughty [4] (who was sent on important business to the Chickasaws and Choctaw Nations of Indians) were received; together with the detail of his proceedings to the Country of the former, and the misfortune that attended

[1] Joseph Stanton, United States Senator from Rhode Island.
[2] Theodore Foster, United States Senator from Rhode Island.
[3] John Jay.
[4] Major John Doughty, First United States Artillery. He built Fort Harmar in 1785.

him in ascending the River Tenessee to the intended place of meeting the Chickasaws, by the Treachery of a Banditti composed of Cherokees, Shawanese and Creek Indians who to the number of 40 in 4 canoes (Doughty's party consisting of no more than 15 Soldiers) under colour of a white flag, and professions of friendship, rose, fired upon, and killed five and wounded six more of his men; obliging him (when within six miles of Ochappo the place of the Rendezvous,) to Retreat down the Tennessee and which he was able to effect by his gallant behaviour and good conduct; notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy and a pursuit of 4 hours and attempt to board the Barge in wch. he was. But being too weak to ascend the Ohio after he had entered it, he was induced to follow the Currnt. into the Mississippi and thence down the same to a Spanish post, A——de Grass about —— miles below the Mouth of the Ohio where he was treated with great kindness and civility by Monsr. —— the Commandant. He contrived after this to see the Flemingo and other head Men of the Chickasaw Nation with whom he did the business he was sent on nearly as well as if he had got to Occhappo the place of his destination as will appear by his details transmitted to the Secretary at War.

Received from the Committee of Enrollment two Acts: — One "For giving effect to an Act entitled 'An Act providing for the enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States,' in respect to the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," The other, "An Act to authorize the purchase of a tract of Land for the use of the United States."[1]

Much company of both Sexes to visit Mrs. Washington this evening.

[1] Purchase of West Point on the Hudson. Act approved July 6th. (See diary that date.)

Saturday, 3d. Exercised between 9 and 11 in the Coach with Mrs. Washington and the Children.[1]

The policy of treating Colo. McGillivray, and the Chiefs of the Creek Nation who were coming with him, with attention as they passed through the States to this City induced me to desire the Secretary at War to write to the Governors of Virginia, Maryland and Pensylvania requesting that they might be provided at the expence with whatever might be deemed a proper respect that they might be kept in good humour.[2]

Nominated, *Yesterday*, to the Senate, persons for the Judiciary of Rhode Island; [3] and a person as Naval Officer in the District of Providence, in the place of Mr. Foster,[4] who was sent by the State as one of their Senators — also Surveyors for the smaller Ports in the District and the District of New-Port.

Sunday, 4th. Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon.

This day being the Anniversary of the declaration of Independency the celebration of it was put of until tomorrow.

[1] George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[2] McGillivray and the Creek chiefs with him were received in New York with much pomp and ceremony. The Tammany Society took charge, and the members, in full Indian regalia, escorted the natives to Federal Hall, where the Congress saluted them from the balcony. The procession then marched to the office of the Secretary of War, where the pipe of peace was smoked, after which Indians and escort visited Governor Clinton and retired to the City Tavern where the Red Men were quartered during their stay in New York. A week later a military drill of regular army troops was given for their entertainment. August 14th, the day the treaty of peace was proclaimed, impressive ceremony marked the occasion. Washington addressed the chiefs in Federal Hall; wampum and tobacco were presented; all the Indians shook hands with the President, and the Creek chiefs chanted a song of peace.

[3] These nominations, like all other lists of names of proposed appointments, sent in by President Washington, will be found in *The Journal of Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1828), under the dates given in the diary.

[4] Theodore Foster; his term, as United States Senator from Rhode Island. began June 7, 1790.

Monday, 5th. The members of the Senate, House of Representatives, Public Officers, Foreign Characters, etc., The Members of the Cincinnati, Officers of the Militia, etc., came with the compliments of the day to me — about one o'clock a sensible Oration was delivered in St. Pauls Chapel by Mr. Brockholst Livingston,[1] on the occasion of the day — the tendency of which was to show the different situation we are now in, under an excellent government of our own choice, to what it would have been if we had not succeeded in our opposition to the attempts of Great Britain to enslave us; and how much we ought to cherish the blessings which are within our reach, and to cultivate the seeds of harmony and unanimity in all our public Councils. There were several other points touched upon in sensible manner.

In the afternoon many Gentlemen and ladies visited Mrs. Washington.

I was informed this day by General Irvine (who recd. the acct. from Pittsburgh,) that the Traitor Arnold was at Detroit and had viewed the Militia in the Neighborhood of it twice. This had occasioned much Speculation in those parts — and with many other circumstances — though trifling in themselves led strongly to a conjecture that the British had some design on the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi and of course to surround these United States.

Tuesday, 6th. Exercised on Horseback betwn. 5 and 7 o'clock in the morning, — at 9 o'clock I sat for Mr. Trumbull to finish my pictures in some of his historical pieces.

Anounced to the House of Representatives (where the Bills originated) my Assent to the Acts which were presented to me on Friday last. One of which Authorizes the

[1] Henry Brockholst Livingston. He had been a lieutenant-colonel in the Revolution; was at Saratoga with Arnold. He dropped the Henry from his name after 1783; was secretary to his brother-in-law, John Jay; and was made an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1807.

President to purchase the whole, or such part of that tract of Land situate in the State of New York, commonly called West-point as shall be by him judged requisite for the purpose of such fortifications and Garrisons as may be necessary for the defence of the same.

The visitors were few today, on acct. of the numbers that paid their compliments yesterday.

Wednesday, 7*th*. Exercised between 5 and 7 this morning on Horseback.

Thursday, 8*th*. Sat from 9 o'clock till after 10 for Mr. Jno. Trumbull, who was drawing a Portrait for me at full length which he intended to present to Mrs. Washington.[1]

About noon the Secretaries of State, and of the Treasury called upon me — the last of whom reported a communication made to him by Majr. Beckwith[2] Aid de camp to Lord Dorchester[3] — Governor of Canada, wch. he reduced to writing, and is as follows.

Memorandum of the substance of a communication made on Thursday the eighth day of July, 1790 to the Subscriber by Major Beckwith as by direction of Lord Dorchester.

Major Beckwith began by stating that Lord Dorchester had directed him to make his acknowledgmts. for the politeness which had been shown in respect to the desire he had intimated to pass by N. York in his way to England; adding that the prospect of a War between Great Britain and Spain would prevent or defer the execution of his intention in that particular.

He next proceeded to observe that Lord Dorchester had been informed of a negotiation commenced on the other side of the Water through the agency of Mr. Morris; mentioning as the sub-

[1] This portrait, about five by seven and one half feet in size of canvas, is now in the Yale School of Fine Arts, Yale University.

[2] Major George Beckwith, Thirty-Seventh Foot, British Army; aid to Sir Guy Carleton.

[3] Sir Guy Carleton, first Baron Dorchester in 1786. Commander-in-Chief in America, 1782–83; Governor of Canada, 1786–91. He had been Governor of Quebec, 1775–77.

scriber understood principally by way of proof of Lord Dorchester's knowledge of the transaction that Mr. Morris had not produced any regular Credentials, but merely a letter from the President directed to himself, that some delays had intervened on account of Mr. Morris's absence on a trip to Holland as was understood and that it was not improbable these delays and some other circumstances may have impressed Mr. Morris with an idea of backwardness on the part of the British Ministry.

That his Lordship however had directed him to say that an inference of this sort would not in his opinion be well founded as he had reason to believe that the Cabinet of Great Britain entertained a disposition not only towards a friendly intercourse but towards an alliance with the United States.

Major Beckwith then proceeded to speak of the particular cause of the expected rupture between Spain and Britain observing it was one in which all Commercial Nations must be supposed to favor the views of G. Britain. That it was therefore presumed, should a war take place, that the United States would find it to be their interest to take part with G. Britain rather than with Spain.

Major Beckwith afterwards mentioned that Lord Dorchester had heard with great concern of some depredations committed by some Indians on our Western frontier. That he wished it to be believed that nothing of this kind had received the least countenance from him. That on the contrary he had taken every proper opportunity of inculcating upon the Indians a pacific disposition towards us; and that as soon as he had heard of the outrages lately committed he had sent a message to endeavor to prevent them. That his Lordship had understd. that the Indians alluded to were a banditti composed chiefly or in great part of Creeks or Cherokees, over whom he had no influence; intimating at the same time that these tribes were supposed to be in connection with the Spaniards.

He stated in the next place that his Lordship had been informed that a Captain Hart [1] in our Service and a Mr. Wemble, and indeed, some persons in the Treaty at Fort Harmer [2] had

[1] Captain Jonathan Hart (or Heart), First United States Infantry. He was on the Harmar expedition and, as major, Second United States Infantry, took part in St. Clair's disastrous attempt against the Miami's, the following year, 1791. In the desperate rear-guard action covering the retreat, he was killed, November 4, 1791.

[2] The treaty of Fort Harmar was signed January 9, 1789, between Governor Arthur St. Clair and the Wyandots, Delawares, and other Indians.

thrown out menaces with regard to the posts on the Frontier and had otherwise held very intemperate language; which however his Lordship considered rather as effusions of individual feelings than as effects of any instruction from authority.

Major Beckwith concluded with producing a letter signed Dorchester; which letter contained ideas similar to those he had expressed, though in more guarded terms and without any allusions to instructions from the British Cabinet. This letter it is recollected hints at the non execution of the treaty of peace on our part.

On the subscriber remarking the circumstance that this letter seemed to speak only the Sentiments of his Lordship, Major Beckwith replied that whatever reasons there might be for that course of proceeding in the present State of the business, it was to be presumed that his Lordship knew too well the consequence of such a step to have taken it without a previous knowledge of the intentions of the Cabinet.[1]

The aspect of this business in the moment of its communication to me, appeared simply, and no other than this; — We did not incline to give any satisfactory answer to Mr. Morris, who was *officially* commissioned to ascertain our intentions with respect to the evacuation of the Western Posts within the territory of the United States and other matters into which he was empowered to enquire until by this unauthenticated mode we can discover whether you will enter into an alliance with us and make Common cause against Spain. In that case we will enter into a Commercial Treaty with you and *promise perhaps* to fulfil what they already stand engaged to perform. However, I requested Mr. Jefferson and Colo. Hamilton, as I intend to do the Vice President,[2] Chief Justice [3] and Secretary at War,[4] to revolve this matter in all its relations in their minds that they may be the better prepared to give me their opinions thereon in the course of 2 or three days.

[1] The original of this Memorandum, in Hamilton's handwriting and bearing Washington's endorsement, is in the Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress, dated July 8, 1790.

[2] John Adams. [3] John Jay. [4] Henry Knox.

The following Gentlemen dined here to day — viz; — Messrs. Wingate, Strong, McClay, Lee, and Johnson (No. Carolina) of the Senate — and Messrs. Gilman, Aimes, Sturges, Schuremen, Fitzsimmons, Wynkoop, Vining, Smith, Madison, Sevier,[1] and Sumpter, of the House of Representatives.

Friday, 9th. Exercised on Horseback between 5 and 7 in the morning.

A letter from Genl. Harmer,[2] enclosing copies of former letters; and Sundry other papers, were put into my hands by the Secretary at War. By these it appears that the frequent hostilities of some vagabond Indians, who it was supposed had a mind to establish themselves on the Sciota for the purpose of robbing the Boats, and murdering the Passengers in their descent or ascent of the Ohio, Had induced an Expedition composed of 120 effective men of the Regular Troops under his (Harmer's) command, and 202 Militia, (mounted on Horses) under that of Genl. Scott [3] of the District of Kentucky. This force rendezvoused at the mouth of Lime-stone on the 20 of April; and intended by a detour to fall on the Scioto high up; — five miles above the mouth of Paint Creek (which runs through the finest land in the world, and surveyed for the Officers of the Virginia line) it accordingly struck the Scioto on the 25th 50 miles

[1] John Sevier, Watauga pioneer; commanded, with Colonel Isaac Shelby, at the battle of King's Mountain. Governor of the State of Franklin; United States brigadier-general of territory south of the Ohio, 1789; United States Representative in Congress, from North Carolina, 1790.

[2] Josiah Harmar. Lieutenant-colonel of Pennsylvania troops in the Revolution; brevet brigadier-general, 1787, and Commander-in-Chief, United States Army, 1789. Commanded a punitive expedition against the Miami Indians, 1790; resigned, 1792, and was Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania from that year until 1799.

[3] Brigadier-General Charles Scott; he first saw military service on the Braddock expedition; was colonel, Third Virginia Regiment, during the Revolution; was in St. Clair's defeat, 1791, and led Wayne's army in the defeat of the Indians at Fallen Timbers, 1794. He was Governor of Kentucky, 1808–12.

from its mouth. But the Militia, according to custom, getting tired, and short of Provisions, became clamorous to get home; and many of them would have gone off but for the influence of Genl. Scott; however, the March was continued and on the 27th the Troops arrived at the mouth of the Scioto where crossing the Ohio the Militia seperated for their respective homes and the Regular Troops proceeded up to their head Quarters at Fort Washington [1] — In this expedition little was done; [2] — a small party of 4 Indians was discovered — killed and scalped — and at another place some Bever traps and skins were taken at an Indian Camp — the detour made was about 128 miles and had the Militia crossed to the East side of the Scioto it is supposed several parties of Indians would have been fallen in with, — the Scioto is 65 miles below the mouth of Licking.

Among the Enclosures with Genl. Harmer's letter, were Captn. Hart's Report of the Navigations of Big-beaver and the Cayahoga, and Country between; and of other waters: — also Majr. Hamtramck's [3] report of the distances etc. from Post Vincennes on the Wabash to Detroit — copies of which I desired to be furnished with.

Many visitors (male and female) this afternoon to Mrs. Washington.

Saturday, 10*th*. Having formed a Party, consisting of the Vice President,[4] his lady, Son [5] and Miss Smith; the Secre-

[1] Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, Ohio.

[2] The expedition did, however, serve to enrage and arouse the Indians. Harmar's force narrowly escaped destruction and the result was increasing hostility, St. Clair's expedition and its defeat by the savages, and, finally, Wayne's victorious march, which, practically, broke the Indian power in that region.

[3] Major John Francis Hamtramck (1756–1803), United States Infantry; lieutenant-colonel, United States Sub-Legion, 1793; was with Wayne on the Miami Indian expedition, 1794. He had been a captain in the Revolutionary War.

[4] John Adams and Abigail Adams.

[5] John Quincy Adams (?) and Mrs. John Adams's niece?

taries of State, Treasury, and War,[1] and the ladies of the two latter; with all the Gentlemen of my family,[2] Mrs. Lear and the two Children,[3] we visited the old position of Fort Washington [4] and afterwards dined on a dinner provided by Mr. Mariner at the House lately Colo. Roger Morris,[5] but confiscated and in the occupation of a common Farmer.

I requested the Vice President and the Secretary at War as I had also in the Morning the Chief Justice,[6] to turn their attention to the communications of Majr. Beckwith: as I might, in course of a few days, call for their opinions on the important matter of it.

Sunday, 11th. At home all day — dispatching some business relative to my own private concerns.

Monday, 12th. Exercised on Horseback between 5 and 6 in the morning.

Sat for Mr. Trumbull from 9 until half after ten. And about Noon had two Bills presented to me by the joint Committee of Congress — The one "An Act for Establishing the Temporary and permanent Seat of the Government of the United States."[7] The other "An Act further

[1] Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Henry Knox.

[2] Tobias Lear, Colonel David Humphreys, Thomas Nelson, and Major William Jackson.

[3] Mrs. Tobias Lear and George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis.

[4] Fort Washington was taken by the British, November 16, 1776.

[5] Later known as the Jumel Mansion. Colonel Roger Morris had been a lieutenant-colonel in the regular British army in the American Colonial wars. He married Mary Philipse, of Philipse Manor, New York. Both he and his wife were forced out of the country by the Revolution. After his death, and after the war, Mrs. Morris and her children sold their American property claim rights to John Jacob Astor.

[6] John Jay.

[7] Washington approved this Act, July 16th. It provided for the establishment of a district, ten miles square, on the Potomac River between the Eastern Branch and Connogocheque, with three commissioners to survey and define the limits. The Government was to be transferred thereto prior to the first Monday in

to provide for the payment of the Invalid Pensioners of the United States." [1]

Tuesday, 13*th*. Again set for Mr. Trumbull from 9 until half past 10 o'clock.

A good deal of Company at the Levee to day.

Wednesday, 14*th*. Exercised on Horseback from 5 until near 7 o'clock.

Had some further conversation to day with the Chief Justice [2] and Secretary of the Treasury [3] with respect to the business on which Majr. Beckwith was come on. The result — To treat his communications very civilly — to intimate, delicately, that they carried no marks official or authentic, nor in speaking of Alliance, did they convey any definite meaning by which the precise object of the British Cabinet could be discovered. In a word, that the Secretary of the Treasury was to extract as much as he could from Major Beckwith and to report to me,[4] without committing, by any assurances whatever, the Government of the U. States, leaving it entirely free to pursue, unreproached, such a line of conduct in the dispute as her interest (and honour) shall dictate.

December of 1800; to adjourn from New York to Philadelphia, where the December session of 1790 was to open. The expense of moving the Government from Philadelphia to the Potomac was to be met from the duties collected on imposts and tonnage.

[1] Approved July 16, 1790. By this Act the United States took over the payment of pensions for Revolutionary War service that had been and were being paid by the States. The arrangement was to continue for one year.

[2] John Jay. [3] Alexander Hamilton.

[4] The original report of this second interview between Hamilton and Beckwith, dated July 22, 1790, and entirely in Hamilton's handwriting, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. It is four pages in length.

1790

July 15–December 31

1791

January 1–March 20

Diaries missing

1791

March 21–June 1

Original missing; the text here given follows Benson J. Lossing's publication of *The Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791* (Richmond, 1861), which is used by Toner as the above portion (March 21–June 1, 1791) of his *Transcript of Washington's Diary*.

1791

MARCH

Monday, 21*st.* Left Philadelphia about 11 o'clock to make a tour through the Southern States. Reached Chester about 3 o'clock — dined and lodged at Mr. Wythes.[1] Roads exceedingly deep, heavy and cut in places by the Carriages which used them.

In this tour I was accompanied by Majr. Jackson, — my equipage and attendance consisted of a Charriot and four horses drove in hand — a light baggage Waggon and two horses — four saddle horses besides a led one for myself — and five — to wit; — my Valet de Chambre, two footmen, Coachmen and postilion.

Tuesday, 22*d.* At half past 6 o'clock we left Chester, and breakfasted at Wilmington.[2] Finding the Roads very heavy — and receiving unfavourable Accts. of those between this place and Baltimore, I determined to cross the Bay by the way of Rockhall; and crossing Christiana Creek proceeded through Newcastle and by the Red Lyon to the Buck tavern 13 miles from Newcastle and 19 from Wilmington where we dined and lodged. At the Red Lyon we gave the horses a bite of Hay — during their eating of which I discovered that one of those wch. drew the Baggage waggon was lame and apprd. otherwise much indisposed — had him bled and afterwards led to the Buck-tavern.

This is a better house than the appearances indicate.

[1] Mrs. Mary Withy's Columbia Hotel.

[2] Probably at James Brindley's, where Washington had stopped in the Brandywine Campaign in 1777.

Wednesday, 23d. Set off at 6 o'clock — breakfasted at Warwick [1] — bated with hay 9 miles farther, and dined and lodged at the House of one Worrell's [2] in Chester; from whence I sent an Express to Rock Hall to have Boats ready for me by 9 o'clock to morrow morning; after doing which Captn. Nicholson obligingly set out for that place to see that every thing should be prepared against my arrival.

The lame horse was brought on, and while on the Road apprd. to move tolerably well, but as soon as he stopped, discovered a stiffness in all his limbs, which indicated some painful disorder. I fear a Chest founder. My riding horse also appeared to be very unwell, his appetite had entirely failed him.

The Winter grain along the Road appeared promising and abundant.

Thursday, 24th. Left Chestertown about 6 o'clock; before nine I arrived at Rock-Hall where we breakfasted and immediately; after which we began to embark. The doing of which employed us (for want of contrivance) until near 3 o'clock, — and then one of my Servants (Paris) and two horses were left, notwithstanding two Boats in aid of the two Ferry Boats were procured. Unluckily, embarking on board of a borrowed Boat because she was the largest, I was in imminent danger, from the unskillfulness of the hands, and the dulness of her sailing, added to the darkness and storminess of the night — for two hours after we hoisted sail the wind was light and ahead — the next hour was a stark calm — after which the wind sprung up at So. Et. and increased until it blew a gale — about which time, and after 8 o'clock P.M. we made the Mouth of Severn River (leading up to Annapolis) but the ignorance of the

[1] Cecil County, Maryland.
[2] Thomas Worrell, Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland.

People on board, with respect to the navigation of it run us a ground first on Greenbury point from whence with much exertion and difficulty we got off; and then, having no knowledge of the Channel and the night being immensely dark with heavy and variable squals of wind, constant lightning and tremendous thunder, we soon got aground again on what is called Horne's point — where finding all efforts in vain, and not knowing where we were we remained, not knowing what might happen, till morning.

Friday, 25th. Having lain all night in my Great Coat and Boots, in a birth not long enough for me by the head,[1] and much cramped; we found ourselves in the morning within about one mile of Annapolis, and still fast aground. Whilst we were preparing our small Boat in order to land in it, a sailing Boat came of to our assistance in wch. with the Baggage I had on board I landed, and requested Mr. Man [2] at whose Inn I intended lodging, to send off a Boat to take off two of my Horses and Chariot which I had left on board and with it my Coachman to see that it was properly done; but by mistake the latter not having notice of this order and attempting to get on board afterwards in a small sailing Boat was overset and narrowly escaped drowning.

Was informed upon my arrival (when 15 Guns were fired) that all my other horses arrived safe that embarked at the same time I did, about 8 o'clock last night.

Was waited upon by the Governor [3] (who came off in a Boat as soon as he heard I was on my passage from Rock-Hall to meet us, but turned back when it grew dark and squally) as soon as I arrived at Man's tavern and was engaged by him to dine with the Citizens of Annapolis this

[1] Washington was nearly two inches over six feet in height.

[2] Colonel William Mann, whose establishment at Annapolis was known as the City Hotel.

[3] Governor John Eager Howard.

day at Mann's tavern, and at his House to morrow — the first I accordingly did.

Before dinner I walked with him, and several other Gentlemen to the State house, (which seems to be much out of repair) — the College of St. John [1] at which there are about 80 Students of every description, and then by way of the Governor's (to see Mrs. Howell [2]) home.

Saturday, 26*th.* Spent the forenoon in my Room preparing papers, etc. against my arrival at George-Town.

Dined at the Governors — and went to the Assembly in the Evening where I stayed till half past ten o'clock.

In the afternoon of this day Paris and my other two horses arrived from Rock-Hall.

Sunday, 27*th.* About 9 o'clock this morning I left Annapollis, under a discharge of Artillery, and being accompanied by the Governor and a Mr. Kilty [3] of the Council and Mr. Charles Stuart proceeded on my Journey for George-Town. Bated at Queen Ann,[4] 13 miles distant and lodged at Bladensburgh.[5] Many of the Gentlemen of Annapolis, (among them was the Chancellor of the State [6]) escorted me to the ferry over So. River.

Monday, 28*th.* Left Bladensburgh at half after six, and breakfasted at George Town about 8; where, having appointed the Commissioners under the Residence Law [7] to

[1] Charter of St. John's was granted in 1784 and the college formally opened in 1789. (See the brief sketch of the institution in Henderson's *Washington's Southern Tour*, Houghton Mifflin Co.: 1923, p. 24.)

[2] Mrs. Howard, wife of Governor John Eager Howard.

[3] William Kilty.

[4] Queen Ann, a village on the Patuxent, in Anne Arundel County.

[5] Tradition has it that Washington lodged at the present ramshackle George Washington Inn on the main street of Bladensburg, near the old Spa Spring. It was built between 1747 and 1752.

[6] Alexander Contee Hanson.

[7] Thomas Johnson, David Stuart, and Daniel Carroll, of Duddington. John-

meet me, I found Mr. Johnson one of them (and who is Chief Justice of the State) in waiting — and soon after came in David Stuart, and Dan'l Carroll, Esqrs. the other two. A few miles out of Town I was met by the principal Citizens of the place and escorted in by them; and dined at Suter's tavern (where I also lodged) at a public dinner given by the Mayor and Corporation — previous to which I examined the Surveys of Mr. Ellicot [1] who had been sent on to lay out the district of ten miles square for the federal seat; and also the works of Majr. L'Enfant [2] who had been engaged to examine and make a draught of the grds. in the vicinity of George Town and Carrollsburg on the Eastern branch making arrangements for examining the ground myself to morrow with the Commissioners.

Tuesday, 29*th*. In a thick mist, and under strong appearances of a settled rain (which however did not happen) I set out about 7 o'clock, for the purpose above mentioned, but from the unfavorableness of the day, I derived no great satisfaction from the review.

Finding the interests of the Landholders about George

son was a delegate to the Continental Congress and made the motion in that body that Washington be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary armies. He was Governor of Maryland, 1777–79; Chief Justice, General Court of Maryland, 1790, and Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court, 1791. Carroll was also a delegate to the Continental Congress and a member of the United States Constitutional Convention. He was the founder of 'Carrollsburg,' which embraced a large section of what is now Southeast Washington. His home, 'Duddington,' occupied the ground now bounded by First, Second, E and F Streets, S.E., in Washington City, and, after his death, was long known as 'Carroll Hill.' The high ground has been cut away and the area covered with small dwellings so that no vestige of the handsome old place now remains. Stuart, a doctor, married the widow of John Parke Custis, as stated in a previous note.

[1] Andrew Ellicott, surveyor. In 1792 he was appointed Surveyor-General of the United States. He was entangled in the L'Enfant controversy over the map of the City of Washington.

[2] Pierre Charles L'Enfant came to America early in the Revolution. He planned the City of Washington and rendered valuable service at the commencement of the work; but his difficult characteristics involved him in continual trouble, and he was, finally, dismissed. The credit for the fundamental plan of the National Capital rightfully belongs to L'Enfant.

Town and those about Carrollsburgh much at variance and that their fears and jealousies of each were counteracting the public purposes and might prove injurious to its best interests, whilst if properly managed they might be made to subserve it, I requested them to meet me at six o'clock this afternoon at my lodgings, which they accordingly did.

To this meeting I represented that the contention in which they seemed engaged, did not in my opinion comport either with the public interest or that of their own; that while each party was aiming to obtain the public buildings, they might by placing the matter on a contracted scale, defeat the measure altogether; not only by procrastination but for want of the means necessary to effect the work; That neither the offer from George-town or Carrollsburgh, seperately, was adequate to the end of insuring the object. That both together did not comprehend more ground nor would afford greater means than was required for the federal City; and that, instead of contending which of the two should have it they had better, by combining more offers make a common cause of it, and thereby secure it to the district; other arguments were used to show the danger which might result from delay and the good effects that might proceed from a Union.

Dined at Colo. Forrest's [1] to day with the Commissioners and others.

Wednesday, 30th. The parties to whom I addressed myself yesterday evening, having taken the matter into consideration saw the propriety of my observations; and that whilst they were contending for the shadow they might loose the substance; and therefore mutually agreed and entered into articles to surrender for public purposes, one

[1] Colonel Uriah Forrest, of the Maryland Continental Line, during the Revolution; he lost a leg at the battle of Brandywine. Was a delegate to the Continental Congress and a member of the United States House of Representatives, 1793–95; clerk of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, 1800–05.

half of the land they severally possessed within bounds which were designated as necessary for the City to stand with some other stipulations, which were inserted in the instrument which they respectively subscribed.[1]

This business being thus happily finished and some directions given to the Commissioners,[2] the Surveyor [3] and Engineer [4] with respect to the mode of laying out the district [5] — Surveying the grounds for the City and forming them into lots, I left Georgetown, dined in Alexandria and reached Mount Vernon in the evening.

Thursday, 31*st*. From this time, until the 7th of April, I remained at Mount Vernon — visiting my Plantations every day; and

Was obliged also, consequence of Colo. Henry Lee's declining to accept the command of one of the Regiments of Levies and the request of the Secretary at War to appoint those officers which had been left to Colo. Lee to do for a Battalion to be raised [6] in Virginia East of the Alligany Mountains to delay my journey on this account; and after all, to commit the business as will appear by the letters and for the reasons there mentioned to Colo. Darke's management.

From hence I also wrote letters to the Secretaries of State,[7] Treasury, and War, in answer to those received from [them] on interesting subjects — desiring in case of

[1] This agreement is printed in full in William Tindall's *Origin and Government of the District of Columbia* (Washington, 1900), p. 85.

[2] Thomas Johnson, Daniel Carroll, and David Stuart.

[3] Andrew Ellicott. [4] Pierre Charles L'Enfant.

[5] Washington's proclamation of March 30, 1791, dated at Georgetown, defined the boundaries of the Ten-Miles Square and directed the Commissioners to have the necessary lines surveyed.

[6] In preparation of Major-General Arthur St. Clair's projected expedition against the Indians.

[7] Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Henry Knox. A contemporary copy of the letter to the Secretary of State, dated April 4, 1790, is entered in the Washington Letter Books, Communications with the State Department, vol. 1,

important occurances they would hold a consultation and if they were of such a nature as to make my return necessary to give me notice and I would return immediately. My Rout was given to them and the time I should be at the particular places therein mentioned.

APRIL

Thursday, 7th. Recommenced my journey with Horses apparently much refreshed and in good spirits.

In attempting to cross the ferry at Colchester with the four horses hitched to the Chariot by the neglect of the person who stood before them, one of the leaders got overboard when the boat was in swimming water and 50 yards from the shore — with much difficulty he escaped drowning before he could be disengaged. His struggling frightened the others in such a manner that one after another and in quick succession they all got overboard harnessed and fastened as they were and with the utmost difficulty they were saved and the Carriage escaped been dragged after them, as the whole of it happened in swimming water and at a distance from the shore. Providentially — indeed miraculously — by the exertions of people who went off in Boats and jumped into the River as soon as the Batteau was forced into wading water — no damage was sustained by the horses, Carriage or harness.

Proceeded to Dumfries where I dined; after which I visited and drank Tea with my Niece Mrs. Thos. Lee.[1]

Friday, 8th. Set out about 6 o'clock, breakfasted at Stafford Court House, and dined and lodged at my Sister Lewis's [2] in Fredericksburgh.

Library of Congress. It is printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington* (1891), vol. XII, p. 34.

[1] Mildred, daughter of John Augustine Washington. Thomas Lee, her husband, was the eldest son of Richard Henry Lee.

[2] Elizabeth (Betty) Lewis, wife of Fielding Lewis.

Saturday, 9*th*. Dined at an entertainment given by the Citizens of the town. Received and answered an address[1] from the Corporation.

Was informed by Mr. Jno. Lewis, who had, not long since been in Richmond, that Mr. Patrick Henry had avowed his interest in the Yazoo Company;[2] and made him a tender of admission into it, which he declined; but asking if the Company did not expect the Settlement of the lands would be disagreeable to the Indians, was answered by Mr. Henry that the Co. intended to apply to Congress for protection — which, if not granted they would have recourse to their own means to protect the settlement; — That General Scott had a certain quantity of Land (I think 40,000 acres in the Company's grant and was to have the command of the force which was to make the establishment; and moreover, that General Muhlenburg had offered £1000 for a certain part of the grant — the quantity I do not recollect if it was mentioned to me.

Sunday, 10*th* Left Fredericksburgh about 6 o'clock, — myself, Majr. Jackson and one Servant, — breakfasted at General Spotswoods.[3] The rest of my Servants continued on to Todd's Ordinary where they also breakfasted. Dined at the Bowling Green, and lodged at Kenner's Tavern 14 miles farther — in all 35 m.

Monday, 11*th*. Took an early breakfast at Kinner's —

[1] The Address, which was signed by William Harvey, Mayor, and Washington's answer are contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] See diary entry and note for April 30, 1790. The affair culminated in the so-called Yazoo Frauds of 1795, the ramifications of which finally carried it into the United States Supreme Court.

[3] Alexander Spotswood, grandson of Governor Alexander Spotswood. He was a colonel in the Virginia Line during the Revolution and brigadier-general of State troops.

bated at one Rawling's, half way between that and Richmd. and dined at the latter about 3 o'clock. On my arrival was saluted by the Cannon of the place, waited on by the Governor[1] and other Gentlemen, and saw the City illuminated at night.

Tuesday, 12*th*. In company with the Governor, the Directors of the James River Navigation Company, the Manager and many other Gentlemen, I viewed the Canal, Sluces, Locks, and other works between the City of Richmond and Westham.[2] These together have brought the navigation to within a mile and half, or mile and ¾ of the proposed Bason; from which the Boats by means of Locks are to communicate with the tide water navigation below. The Canal is of sufficient depth every where, but in places not brought to its proper width; it seems to be perfectly secure against Ice, Freshes and drift wood. The locks at the head of these works are simple, altogether of hewn stone, except the gates and cills, and very easy and convenient to work; there are two of them, each calculated to raise and lower 6 feet; they cost according to the Manager's, Mr. Harris' acct. about £3000 but I could see nothing in them to require such a sum to erect them. The Sluces in the River, between the locks and the mouth of the Canal are well graduated and easy of assent. To complete the Canal from the point to which it is now opened, and the Locks at the foot of them, Mr. Harris thinks will require 3 years.

Received an Address from the Mayor, Aldermen and

[1] Governor Beverley Randolph.

[2] Washington's interest in canal transportation had led him to urge the construction of this James River Canal as early as 1784. The legislature of Virginia voted him one hundred shares of the stock of the Company in 1785, which he declined to accept, but consented to hold in trust for some object of public benefaction. This object presented itself in 1796, and Washington donated the shares to Liberty Hall Academy, near Lexington, Virginia, which changed its name to Washington Academy and became the ancestor of Washington and Lee College.

Common Council of the City of Richmond [1] at three o'clock, and dined with the Governor at 4 o'clock.

In the course of my enquiries, chiefly from Colo. Carrington,[2] I cannot discover that any discontents prevail among the people at large, at the proceedings of Congress. The conduct of the Assembly respecting the assumption [3] he thinks is condemned by them as intemperate and unwise; and he seems to have no doubt but that the Excise law,[4] as it is called, may be executed without difficulty — nay more, that it will become popular in a little time. His duty as Marshall having carried him through all parts of the State lately, and of course given him the best means of ascertaining the temper and disposition of its Inhabitants, he thinks them favorable towards the General Government, and that they only require to have matters explained to them in order to obtain their full assent to the measures adopted by it.

Wednesday, 13th. Fixed with Colo. Carrington (the supervisor of the district) the surveys of Inspection [5] for the District of this State and named the characters for them, an acct. of which was transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury.

[1] This Address and Washington's answer are contemporaneously copied into the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Colonel Edward Carrington, lieutenant-colonel, First Continental Artillery; commissioner for the sale of confiscated goods at Yorktown, 1781, and Deputy Quartermaster-General, Southern Department. He was Supervisor of the Virginia District for the collection of the excise revenue from liquors.

[3] The assumption of the war debts of the States by the general Government.

[4] Approved, August 10, 1790, imposing a tax on liquors according to their strength. It was this and subsequent Acts dealing with an excise that led to the so-called 'Whiskey Rebellion' in Western Pennsylvania in 1794.

[5] The commissions for these appointees for inspectors (for the collection of revenue, under the Excise Law of August 10, 1790) were transmitted to Hamilton by Lear, who remained in Philadelphia, who notes in his letter to Washington of June 5, 1791 (in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress), that they were for 'Survey No. 1, in the District of Virginia.'

Dined at a public entertainment given by the Corporation of Richmond.

The buildings in this place have encreased a good deal since I was here last, but they are not of the best kind. The number of Souls in the City are ——

Thursday, 14*th*. Left Richmond after an early breakfast, and passing through Manchester received a Salute from cannon and an Escort of Horse under the command of Captn. David Meade Randolph [1] as far as Osbornes when I was met by the Petersburgh horse and escorted to that place, and partook of a Public dinner [2] given by the Mayor [3] and Corporation and went to an Assembly in the evening for the occasion at which there were between 60 and 70 ladies.

Petersburgh which is said to contain near 3000 Souls is well situated for trade at present, but when the James River navigation is completed and the cut from Elizabeth River to Pasquotanck effected it must decline and that very considerably. At present it receives at the Inspections nearly a third of the Tobacco exported from the whole State besides a considerable quantity of Wheat and flour; much of the former being Manufactured at the Mills near the Town. Chief of the buildings, in this town are under the hill and unpleasantly situated, but the heights around it are agreeable.

The Road from Richmond to this place passes through a poor country principally covered with Pine except

[1] David Meade Randolph; he had been a captain in Bland's Continental Dragoons, during the Revolution.

[2] At the Eagle Tavern, Petersburg, which was on Main Street between what is now Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. Henderson (*op. cit.*) calls attention to the fact that this Address from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council contains the phrase: 'Father of your Country.' Both Address and Washington's reply are contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Henderson (p. 65) prints both in full.

[3] Mayor Joseph Westmore.

the interval lands on the River which we left on our left.

Friday, 15*th*. Having suffered very much by the dust yesterday, and finding that parties of Horse, and a number of other Gentlemen were intending to attend me part of the way to day, I caused their enquiries respecting the time of my setting out, to be answered that, I should endeavor to do it before eight o'clock; but I did it a little after five, by which means I avoided the inconveniences above mentioned.

I came twelve miles to breakfast, at one Jesse Lee's, a tavern newly set up upon a small scale, and 15 miles farther to dinner; and where I lodged, at the House of one Oliver, which is a good one for horses, and where there are tolerable clean beds. For want of proper stages I could go no farther. The Road along wch. I travelled to day is through a level piney Country, until I came to Nottaway,[1] on which there seems to be some good land, the rest is very poor and seems scarce of Water.

Finding that the two horses wch. drew my baggage wagon were rather too light for the draught; and (one of them especially) losing his flesh fast, I engaged two horses to be at this place this evening to carry it to the next stage 20 miles off in the morning, and sent them led to be there ready for me.

Saturday, 16*th*. Got into my Carriage a little after 5 o'clock, and travelled thro' a cloud of dust until I came within two or three miles of Hix's ford when it began to Rain. Breakfasted at one Andrews' a small but decent House about a mile after passing the ford (or rather the bridge) over Meherrin River.[2] Although raining moder-

[1] Nottoway River, Virginia.

[2] Meherrin River, Virginia. The Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers join and flow into North Carolina, emptying, as does the Chowan, into Albemarle Sound.

ately, but with appearances of breaking up, I continued my journey — induced to it by the crowds which were coming into a general Muster at the Court House of Greensville,[1] who would I presumed soon have made the Ho. I was in too noizy to be agreeable. I had not however rode two miles before it began to be stormy, and to rain violently which, with some intervals, it contind. to do the whole afternoon. The uncomfortableness of it, for Men and Horses, would have induced me to put up; but the only Inn short of Hallifax having no stables in wch. the horses could be comfortable, and no Rooms or beds which appeared tolerable, and every thing else having a dirty appearance, I was compelled to keep on to Hallifax; 27 miles from Andrews, 48 from Olivers, and 75 from Petersburgh. At this place (i. e. Hallifax) I arrived about six o'clock, after crossing the Roanoke; on the South bank of which it stands.

This River is crossed in flat Boats which take in a Carriage and four horses at once. At this time, being low, the water was not rapid but at times it must be much so, as it frequently overflows its banks which appear to be at least 25 ft. perpendicular height.

The lands upon the River appear rich, and the low grounds of considerable width — but those which lay between the different Rivers; — namely, Appamattox, Nottaway, Meherrin and Roanoke are all alike flat, poor and covered principally with pine timber.

It has already been observed that before the Rain fell, I was travelling in a continued cloud of dust, but after it had rained some time the Scene was reversed, and my passage was through water, so level are the Roads.

From Petersburgh to Hallifax (in sight of the Road) are but few good Houses, with small appearances of wealth. The lands are cultivated in Tobacco, Corn, Wheat and

[1] Greenville Court-House, Greenville County, North Carolina.

Oats, but Tobacco and the raising of Porke for market, seems to be the principal dependence of the Inhabitants; especially towards the Roanoke. Cotton and Flax are also raised but not extensively.

Hallifax is the first town I came to after passing the line between the two States, and is about 20 miles from it. To this place vessels by the aid of Oars and Setting poles are brought for the produce which comes to this place, and others along the River; and may be carried 8 or 10 miles higher to the falls which are neither great nor of much extent; — above these (which are called the great falls) there are others; but none but what may with a little improvement be passed. This town stands upon high ground; and it is the reason given for not placing it at the head of the navigation there being none but low ground between it and the falls. It seems to be in a decline and does not it is said contain a thousand Souls.

Sunday, 17*th*. Colo. Ashe [1] the Representative of the district in which this town stands, and several other Gentlemen called upon, and invited me to partake of a dinner which the Inhabitants were desirous of seeing me at and excepting it dined with them accordingly.

Monday, 18*th*. Set out by six o'clock — dined at a small house kept by one Slaughter, 22 Miles from Hallifax and lodged at Tarborough 14 Miles further.

This place is less than Hallifax, but more lively and thriving; it is situated on Tar River which goes into Pamplico Sound and is crossed at the Town by means of a bridge a great height from the water, and notwithstanding the freshes rise sometimes nearly to the arch. Corn,

[1] Colonel John B. Ashe, son of Governor John Ashe. Had been a member of the Continental Congress and was United States Representative from North Carolina, 1789–93. He was elected Governor of the State in 1802, but died before his inauguration.

Porke, and some Tar are the exports from it. We were recd. at this place by as good a salute as could be given by one piece of artillery.

Tuesday, 19*th*. At 6 o'clock I left Tarborough accompanied by some of the most respectable people of the place for a few miles; dined at a trifling place called Greenville [1] 25 miles distant, and lodged at one Allan's [2] 14 miles further a very indifferent house without stabling which for the first time since I commenced my Journey were obliged to stand without a cover.

Greenville is on Tar River and the exports the same as from Tarborough with a greater proportion of Tar, for the lower down the greater number of Tar makers are there. This article is contrary to all ideas one would entertain on the subject, rolled as Tobacco by an axis which goes through both hands — one horse draws two barrels in this manner.

Wednesday, 20*th*. Left Allans before breakfast, and under a misapprehension went to a Colo. Allans,[3] supposing it to be a public house; where we were very kindly and well entertained without knowing it was at his expence, until it was too late to rectify the mistake. After breakfasting, and feeding our horses here, we proceeded on and crossing the River Neuse 11 miles further, arrived in Newbern to dinner.

At this ferry which is 10 miles from Newbern, we were met by a small party of Horse; the district Judge (Mr. Sitgreave) [4] and many of the principal Inhabitants of Newbern, who conducted us into town to exceeding good

[1] Greensville, formerly Martinborough. The name was changed in 1786, in honor of General Nathanael Greene. (Henderson, *Washington's Southern Tour*, p. 78.)

[2] Shadrach Allen. (*Henderson.*)

[3] Colonel John Allen, on north side of the Neuse River about twenty miles from Newbern. (*Henderson*, p. 82.)

[4] John Sitgreaves, United States District Judge.

lodgings.[1] It ought to have been mentioned that another small party of horse under one Simpson [2] met us at Greensville, and in spite of every endeavor which could comport with decent civility, to excuse myself from it, they would attend me to Newbern. Colo. Allan did the same.

This town is situated at the confluence of the Rivers Neuse and Trent, and though low is pleasant. Vessels drawing more than 9 feet water cannot get up loaded. It stands on a good deal of ground, but the buildings are sparce and altogether of Wood; some of which are large and look well. The number of Souls are about 2000. Its exports consist of Corn, Tobacco, Pork, — but principally of Naval Stores and lumber.

Thursday, 21*st*. Dined with the Citizens at a public dinner given by them; and went to a dancing assembly in the evening: both of which was at what they call the Pallace, formerly the Government House and a good brick building but now hastening to Ruins.[3] The Company at both was numerous, at the latter there were abt. 70 ladies.

This town by Water is about 70 miles from the Sea; but in a direct line to the entrance of the River not over 35, and to the nearest Seaboard not more than 20, or 25. Upon the River Neuse, and 80 miles above Newbern, the Convention of the State that adopted the federal Constitution made choice of a spot, or rather district within which to fix their Seat of Government; but it being lower than the back Members (of the Assembly) who hitherto have been most numerous inclined to have it they have found means to obstruct the measure, but since the Cession of their Western territory it is supposed that the matter will be revived to good effect.

[1] The John Stanley House. (*Henderson*, p. 88.)

[2] The Pitt Light Horse, commanded by Captain Samuel Simpson. (*Henderson*, p. 83.)

[3] For a short sketch of 'The Pallace' see *Henderson*, p. 90.

Friday, 22*d*. Under an Escort of horse, and many of the principal Gentlemen of Newbern I recommenced my journey; dined at a place called Trenton which is the head of the boat navigation of the River Trent, wch. is crossed at this place on a bridge — and lodged at one Shrine's [1] 10 m. farther — both indifferent Houses.

Saturday, 23*d*. Breakfasted at one Everets 12 miles; bated at a Mr. Foy's 12 miles farther, and lodged at one Sage's 20 miles beyd. it — all indifferent houses.

Sunday, 24*th*. Breakfasted at an indifferent House about 13 miles from Sage's; and three miles further met a party of Light Horse from Wilmington; and after these a Commee. and other Gentlemen of the Town; who came out to escort me into it, and at which I arrived under a federal salute at very good lodgings [2] prepared for me, about two o'clock. At these I dined with the Commee. whose company I asked.

The whole Road from Newbern to Wilmington (except in a few places of small extent) passes through the most barren country I ever beheld; especially in the parts nearest the latter; which is no other than a bed of white sand. In places, however, before we came to these, if the ideas of poverty could be seperated from the Sand, the appearances of it are agreeable, resembling a lawn well covered with evergreens, and a good verdure below from a brook or course grass which having sprung since the burning of the Woods had a neat and handsome look especially as there were parts entirely open, and others with ponds of

[1] This and the names immediately following cannot be identified from the Census of 1790; 'Shrine' may have been John Shine, and 'Foy,' James Foye. There are quite a number of 'Everitts' recorded in the Census as being in the region Washington passed through.

[2] Dorsey's Tavern, kept by Lawrence A. Dorsey. Henderson (p. 106) says that Washington did not lodge at Dorsey's, but at the house of the widow of John Quince.

water, which contributed not a little to the beauty of the scene.

Wilmington is situated on the Cape Fear River, about 30 miles *by water* from its mouth, but much less by land. It has some good houses pretty compactly built. The whole under a hill; which is formed entirely of sand. The number of Souls in it amount by the enumeration to about 1000, but it is agreed on all hands that the Census in this State has been very inaccurately and Shamefully taken by the Marshall's deputies; who, instead of going to Peoples houses, and there, on the spot, ascertaining the Nos.; have advertised a meeting of them at certain places, by which means those who did not attend (and it seems many purposely avoided doing it, some from an apprehension of its being introductory of a tax, and others from religious scruples) have gone with their families, unnumbered. In other instances, it is said these deputies have taken their information from the Captains of Militia Companies; not only as to the men on their Muster Rolls, but of the Souls, in their respective families; which at best, must in a variety of cases, be mere conjecture whilst all those who are not on their lists — Widows and their families, etc. pass unnoticed.

Wilmington, unfortunately for it, has a Mud bank —— miles below, over which not more than 10 feet water can be brought at common tides, yet it is said vessels of 250 Tons have come up. The qu'ty. of Shipping, which load here annually, amounts to about 1200 Tonns. The exports consist chiefly of Naval Stores and lumber. Some Tobacco, Corn, Rice, and flax seed with Porke. It is at the head of the tide navigation, but inland navigation may be extended 115 miles farther to and above Fayettesville which is from Wilmington 90 miles by land, and 115 by Water as above. Fayettesville is a thriving place containing near [ ] Souls. 6000 Hhds. of Tobacco and 3000 Hhds. of

Flax Seed have been recd. at it in the course of the year.

Monday, 25*th.* Dined with the Citizens of the place at a public dinner given by them.[1] Went to a Ball in the evening [2] at which there were 62 ladies — illuminations, Bonfires, etc.

Tuesday, 26*th.* Having sent my Carriage across the day before, I left Wilmington about 6 o'clock, accompanied by most of the Gentlemen of the Town, and breakfasting at Mr. Ben Smith's [3] lodged at one Russ' 25 miles from Wilmington, — an indifferent House.

Wednesday, 27*th.* Breakfasted at Willm. Gause's a little out of the direct Road 14 miles; crossed the boundary line between No. and South Carolina abt. half after 12 o'clock which is 10 miles from Gause's; dined at a private house (one Cochran's) about 2 miles farther, and lodged at Mr. Vareen's 14 miles more and 2 miles short of the long bay. To this house we were directed as a Tavern, but the Proprietor of it either did not keep one, or would not acknowledge it. We therefore were entertained (and very kindly) without being able to make compensation.

Thursday, 28*th.* Mr. Vareen piloted us across the Swash (which at high water is impassable, and at times, by the shifting of the Sands is dangerous) on the long Beach of the Ocean; and it being at a proper time of the tide we passed along it with ease and celerity to the place of quitting it, which is estimated 16 miles; five miles farther we got dinner and fed our horses at a Mr. Pauley's a private house,

[1] At Jocelin's Tavern. (*Henderson*, p. 114.)
[2] At the Assembly Hall, on Front Street. (*Henderson*, p. 114.)
[3] Benjamin Smith, later Governor of the State and general of militia.

no public one being on the Road; and being met on the Road, and kindly invited by a Doctor Flagg to his house, we lodged there; it being about 10 miles from Pauley's and 33 from Vareen's.[1]

Friday, 29th. We left Doctr. Flagg's about 6 o'clock, and arrived at Captn. W. Alston's [2] on the Waggamau to Breakfast.

Captn. Alston is a Gentleman of large fortune and esteemed one of the neatest Rice planters in the State of So. Carolina and a proprietor of the most valuable ground for the culture of this article. His house which is large, new and elegantly furnished stands on a sand hill, high for the Country, with his Rice fields below; the contrast of which with the lands back of it, and the Sand and piney barrens through which we had passed is scarcely to be conceived.

At Captn. Alston's we were met by General Moultree,[3] Colo. Washington [4] and a Mr. Rutledge [5] (son of the present Chief Justice of So. Carolina [6]) who had come out that far to escort me to town. We dined and lodged at this Gentlemans and Boats being provided we [left] the next mornin.

Saturday, 30th. Crossed the Waggamau [7] to Georgetown by descending the River three miles. At this place we were recd. under a Salute of Cannon, and by a Company of Infantry handsomely uniformed. I dined with the Citizens in public; and in the afternoon, was introduced to upwards of

[1] These names, Vareen, Pauley, Dr. Flagg, do not appear in the 1790 Census.
[2] Captain William Alston married, first, the daughter of John B. Ashe, and, second, Mary Motte, daughter of Rebecca Motte, of Revolutionary War fame; Robert Y. Hayne was his son-in-law.
[3] Major-General William Moultrie, the hero of the defense of Sullivan Island. Governor of South Carolina in 1785 and again in 1794.
[4] Colonel William Washington.
[5] Edward Rutledge. [6] John Rutledge. [7] Waccamaw.

50 ladies who had assembled (at a Tea party) on the occasion.

George Town seems to be in the shade of Charleston. It suffered during the War by the British, having had many of its Houses burnt.[1] It is situated on a pininsula betwn. the River Waccamaw and Sampton *Creek* about 15 miles from the Sea; a bar is to be passed, over which not more than 12 feet water can be brot. except at Spring tides; which (tho' the Inhabitants are willing to entertain different ideas,) must ever be a considerable let to its importance; especially if the cut between the Santee and Cooper Rivers, should ever be accomplished.

The Inhabitants of this place (either unwilling or unable) could give no account of the number of Souls in it, but I should not compute them at more than 5 or 600. Its chief export, Rice.

MAY

Sunday, first. Left Georgetown about 6 o'clock and crossing the Santee Creek at the Town, and the Santee River 12 miles from it, at Lynch's Island, we breakfasted and dined at Mrs. Horry's[2] about 15 miles from Georgetown and lodged at the Plantation of Mr. Manigold[3] about 19 miles farther.

Monday, 2d. Breakfasted at the Country seat of Govr. Pinckney[4] about 18 miles from our lodging place, and then came to the ferry at Haddrel's point, 6 miles further, where

[1] Georgetown was the scene of some brisk fighting. Colonel Henry Lee captured the place in January, 1781; but relinquished it almost at once. The town suffered, but it does not appear that the destruction was wanton.

[2] Widow of Colonel Daniel Horry, whose place was called 'Hampton.' (*Henderson*, p. 138.)

[3] Gabriel Manigault. Married the daughter of Ralph Izard. His place was known as 'Marshlands.' (*Henderson*, p. 140.)

[4] The country-seat of Governor Charles Pinckney.

I was met by the Recorder of the City,[1] General Pinckney [2] and Edward Rutledge, Esqr. in a 12 oared barge rowed by 12 American Captains of Ships,[3] most elegantly dressed. There were a great number of other Boats with Gentlemen and ladies in them; and two Boats with Music; all of whom attended me across, and on the passage were met by a number of others. As we approached the town a salute with artillery commenced, and at the Wharf I was met by the Governor,[4] the Lt. Governor, the Intendt. of the City; the two Senators of the State, Wardens of the City; Cincinnati, etc. etc. and conducted to the Exchange where they passed by in procession; from thence I was conducted in like manner to my lodgings; after which I dined at the Governors (in what he called a private way) with 15 or 18 Gentlemen.

It may as well in this as in any other place, be observed, that the Country from Wilmington through which the Road passes, is, except in very small spots, much the same as what has already been described; that is to say, sand and pine barrens — with very few inhabitants. We were indeed informed that at some distance from the Road on

[1] John Bee Holmes.

[2] General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825). Brigadier-general, State troops. Member of United States Constitutional Convention; United States Commissioner to France with John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry, in John Adams's Administration, when the French Government refused to receive them for the purpose of negotiating a treaty until a loan could be made to members of the French Government. This was nothing, more or less, than a broad hint for the envoys to resort to bribery. Pinckney is credited with the remark, 'Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute.' The matter is generally designated as the 'X Y Z Affair.'

[3] Henderson (p. 159, *note*) quotes from the proceedings of the City Council the names of these American sea captains as Jacob Milligan, George Cross, Charles Crawley, John Connely, Henry Laurence, Thomas Kean, Jeremiah Dickenson, Luke Swain, Thomas Blundel, William Conyers, James Rea, John Drinker, and a Captain Cochran, coxswain.

[4] Governor Charles Pinckney, Lieutenant-Governor Isaac Holmes, Intendant Arnoldus Vanderhorst, Senators Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard. The Wardens of the city are given in the proceedings of the City Council (quoted by Henderson, p. 159, *note*) as Colonel John Mitchell, Mr. Morris, Mr. Thomas Corbett, Dr. Harris, and Mr. William Marshall.

both sides the land was of a better quality, and thickly settled, but this could only be on the Rivers and larger waters, for a perfect sameness seems to run through all the rest of the Country. On these, especially the swamps and low lands on the Rivers, the Soil is very rich; and productive when reclaimed; but to do this is both laborious and expensive. The Rice planters have two modes of watering their fields; the first by the tide, the other by reservoirs drawn from the adjacent lands. The former is best because most certain. A crop without either is precarious, because a drought may not only injure, but destroy it. Two and an half and 3 barrels to the Acre is esteemed a good Crop and 8 or 10 Barrls. for each grown hand is very profitable; but some have 12 and 14, whilst 5 or 6 is reckoned the average production of a hand. A barrel contains about 600 weight and the present price is about 10/6 and 11/ Sterg. pr. 100.

The lodgings provided for me in this place were very good, being the furnished house of a Gentleman [1] at present in the Country; but occupied by a person placed there on purpose to accomodate me, and who was paid in the same manner as any other letter of lodgings would have been paid.[2]

Tuesday, 3*d*. Breakfasted with Mrs. Rutledge [3] (the Lady of the Chief Justice of the State who was on the Circuits) and dined with the Citizens at a public dinr. given by them at the Exchange.

Was visited about 2 O'clock, by a great number of the most respectable ladies of Charleston — the first honor of the kind I had ever experienced and it was as flattering as it was singular.

[1] Thomas Heyward, Jr., Signer of the Declaration of Independence. The house was on Church Street and was then occupied by Mrs. Rebecca Jamieson.

[2] The City paid £60 for the use of the Heyward house for Washington and defrayed the expense of the necessary servants also.

[3] Mrs. John Rutledge.

Wednesday, 4th. Dined with the Members of the Cincinnati,[1] and in the evening went to a very elegant dancing Assembly at the Exchange, at which were 256 elegantly dressed and handsome ladies.

In the forenoon (indeed before breakfast to day) I visited and examined the lines of attack and defence of the City and was satisfied that the defence was noble and honorable altho' the measure was undertaken upon wrong principles and impolitic.[2]

Thursday, 5th. Visited the works of Fort Johnson James' Island, and Fort Moultree on Sullivan's Island;[3] both of which are in Ruins, and scarcely a trace of the latter left, the former quite fallen.

Dined with a very large Company at the Governor's,[4] and in the evening went to a Concert at the Exchange at wch. there were at least 400 ladies the number and appearance of wch. exceeded any thing of the kind I had ever seen.

Friday, 6th. Viewed the town on horseback by riding through most of the principal Streets.

Dined at Majr. Butler's[5] and went to a Ball in the evening at the Governors where there was a select Company of ladies.

Saturday, 7th. Before Break[fast] I visited the Orphan House[6] at which there were one hundred and seven boys

[1] Henderson (p. 176) says at McCrady's Tavern.

[2] The defense of Charleston, in 1780, against the combined forces of Sir Henry Clinton and Vice-Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot. Washington, after viewing the ground, evidently inclined to the idea that it had been a mistake to allow the troops to be shut up in the town by a superior land and sea force. The place should have been given up as New York had been given up in 1776. The British could have the town; but the army would have been saved for further fighting.

[3] Where Sir Peter Parker's fleet was repulsed in 1776.

[4] Governor Charles Pinckney's house was on Meeting Street.

[5] Pierce Butler.

[6] A city institution.

and girls. This appears to be a charitable institution and under good management. I also viewed the City from the balcony of [ ][1] Church from whence the whole is seen in one view and to advantage, the Gardens and green trees which are interspersed adding much to the beauty of the prospect.

Charleston stands on a Pininsula between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers and contains about 1600 dwelling houses and nearly 16,000 Souls of which about 8000 are white. It lies low with unpaved streets (except the footways) of sand. There are a number of very good houses of Brick and wood but most of the latter. The Inhabitants are wealthy, Gay, and hospitable; appear happy and satisfied with the Genl. Government. A cut is much talked off between the Ashley and Santee Rivers but it would seem I think, as if the accomplishment of the measure was not very near. It would be a great thing for Charleston if it could be effected. The principal exports from this place is Rice, Indigo, and Tobacco; of the last from 5 to 8000 Hhds. have been exported, and of the first from 80 to 120,000 Barrels.

Sunday, 8*th*. Went to Crowded Churches in the morning and afternoon. To [ ][2] in the morning and [ ][3] in the afternoon.

Dined with General Moultree.

Monday, 9*th*. At six o'clock I recommenced my journey for Savanna; attended by a Corps of the Cincinnati and most of the principal Gentlemen of the City as far as the bridge over Ashley River, where we breakfasted, and proceeded to Colo. W. Washington's at Sandy-hill with a

[1] Saint Michael's.
[2] Saint Philip's Church, which was destroyed by fire in 1835.
[3] Saint Michael's.

select party of particular friends — distant from Charleston 28 miles.

Tuesday, 10*th.* Took leave of all my friends and attendants at this place (except General Moultree and Majr. Butler the last of whom intended to accompany me to Savanna, and the other to Purisburgh, at which I was to be met by Boats,) and breakfasting at Judge Bee's [1] 12 miles from Sandy hill, lodged at Mr. Obrian Smith's [2] 18 or 20 further on.

Wednesday, 11*th.* After an early breakfast at Mr. Smiths we road 20 miles to a place called Pokitellieo [3] where a dinner was provided by the Parishoners of Prince William for my reception, and an address from them was presented and answered.[4] After dinner we proceeded 16 miles farther to Judge Hayward's [5] where we lodged, and, as also at Mr. Smith's were kindly and hospitably entertained. My going to Colo. Washington's is to be ascribed to motives of friendship and relationship; but to Mr. Smith's and Judge Haywards to those of necessity; their being no public houses on the Road and my distance to get to these private ones increased at least 10 or 12 miles between Charleston and Savanna.

Thursday, 12*th.* By five o'clock we set out from Judge Hayward's, and road to Purisburgh [6] 22 miles to breakfast.

At that place I was met by Messrs. Jones, Colo. Habersham, Mr. Jno. Houston, Genl. McIntosh and Mr. Clay,[7]

[1] Thomas Bee, member of the Continental Congress; Judge of United States District Court of South Carolina.

[2] O'Brien Smith, in Saint Paul's Parish.

[3] Pocotaligo, on the Combahee River, York District, South Carolina.

[4] This Address and Washington's answer are contemporaneously entered in Washington's Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] Thomas Heyward, Jr. [6] Purysburg, on the Savannah River.

[7] Noble Wymberley Jones, Colonel Joseph Habersham, John Houstoun,

a Comee. from the City of Savanna to conduct me thither. Boats also were ordered there by them for my accomodation; among which a handsome 8 oared barge rowed by 8 American Captns. attended.[1] In my way down the River I called upon Mrs. Green [2] the Widow of the deceased Genl. Green, (at a place called Mulberry Grove) and asked her how she did. At this place (2 miles from Purisburgh) my horses and Carriages were landed, and had 12 miles farther by Land to Savanna. The wind and tide being both agst. us, it was 6 o'clock before we reached the City where we were received under every demonstration that could be given of joy and respect. We were Seven hours making the passage which is often performed in 4, tho' the computed distance is 25 miles. Illumns. at night.

I was conducted by the Mayor [3] and Wardens to very good lodging which had been provided for the occasion, and partook of a public dinner given by the Citizens at the Coffee Room.[4] At Purisburgh I parted with Genl. Moultree.

Friday, 13*th*. Dined with the Members of the Cincinnati at a public dinner given at the same place, and in the eve-

Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh, and Joseph Clay. Jones was a doctor; he was Speaker of the Assembly in 1768; a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1775 and 1781. Habersham was delegate to the Continental Congress, 1785–86; mayor of Savannah, 1792. He was Postmaster-General of the United States, 1795. Houstoun was delegate to the Continental Congress, 1775–76; Governor of Georgia, 1778 and 1784. McIntosh was a brigadier-general, Continental Army, during the Revolution; he killed Button Gwinnett, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, in a duel in 1777; he was a delegate to the Continental Congress from Georgia in 1784. Clay was a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1778–80, and Treasurer of Georgia in 1782.

[1] Henderson (p. 206) says there were nine captains, and gives their surnames as Putnam, Couster, Rice, Fisher, Huntingdon, Kershaw, Swain, McIntire, and Morrison.

[2] Mrs. Nathanael Greene. 'Mulberry Grove' had been presented to General Nathanael Greene by the State.

[3] Thomas Gibbons.

[4] Brown's Coffee House.

ning went to a dancing Assembly [1] at which there was about 100 well dressed and handsome ladies.

Saturday, 14th. A little after 6 o'clock, in Company with Genl. McIntosh, Genl. Wayne,[2] the Mayor [3] and many others (principal Gentle men of the City,) I visited the City, and the attack and defence of it in the year 1779, under the combined forces of France and the United States, commanded by the Count de Estaing [4] and Genl. Lincoln.[5] To form an opinion of the attack at this distance of time, and the change which has taken place in the appearance of the ground by the cutting away of the woods, etc. is hardly to be done with justice to the subject; especially as there is remaining scarcely any of the defences.

Dined to day with a number of the Citizens (not less than 200) in an elegant Bower erected for the occasion on the Bank of the River below the Town. In the evening there was a tolerable good display of fireworks.

Sunday, 15th. After morning Service, and receiving a

[1] This entertainment is described in a contemporary account, quoted by Henderson (p. 219).

[2] Major-General Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania. Commanded the Pennsylvania Line and the Light Infantry. His most brilliant exploit with the latter organization was the capture of Stony Point, in the storm of which he was wounded in the head. He represented Georgia in the United States House of Representatives, 1791–92; placed in command of the expedition to chastise the Northwestern Indians after St. Clair's defeat, he delivered a crushing blow to them at Fallen Timbers, 1794. He returned to Pennsylvania and died there, 1796. He was popularly known as 'Mad Anthony,' from his habit of taking desperate military chances, which usually were successful.

[3] Thomas Gibbons.

[4] Charles Henri Théodat, Comte D'Estaing, admiral and lieutenant-general, French Navy. His fleet, bringing French and West Indian troops, coöperated with Major-General Benjamin Lincoln in an unsuccessful siege of Savannah, culminating in an ill-advised assault which was repulsed. Comte Casimir Pulaski was killed in this attempt.

[5] Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts. He afterward commanded at Charleston, South Carolina, when that city was captured by the British. Washington made him master of ceremonies at the capitulation of Yorktown and he there received the surrender of the army of Cornwallis.

number of visits from the most respectable ladies of the place (as was the case yesterday) I set out for Augusta, Escorted beyd. the limits of the City by most of the Gentlemen in it, and dining at Mulberry Grove the Seat of Mrs. Green, lodged at one Spencers — distant 15 miles.

Savanna stands upon what may be called high ground for this Country. It is extremely Sandy wch. makes the walking very disagreeable; and the houses uncomfortable in warm and windy weather, as they are filled with dust whenever these happen. The town on 3 sides is surrounded with cultivated Rice fields which have a rich and luxuriant appearance. On the 4th or backside it is a fine sand. The harbour is said to be very good, and often filled with square rigged vessels, but there is a bar below over which not more than 12 water can be brot. except at sprg. tides. The tide does not flow above 12 or 14 miles above the City though the River is swelled by it more than double that distance. Rice and Tobacco (the last of wch. is greatly increasing) are the principal Exports. Lumber and Indigo are also Exported, but the latter is in the decline, and it is suppased by Hemp and Cotton. Ship timber, viz: — live Oak and Cedar, is (and may be more so) valuable in the exptn.

Monday, 16*th*. Breakfasted at Russels, 15 miles from Spencer's; dined at Garnets 19 further and lodged at Pierces 8 miles more, in all, 42 miles to day.

Tuesday, 17*th*. Breakfasted at Spinner's 17 miles; dined at Lamberts 13; and lodged at Waynesborough (wch. was coming 6 miles out of our way) 14, in all 43 miles. Waynesborough is a small place, but the Seat of the Court of Burkes County; 6 or 8 dwelling houses in all it contains. An attempt is making (without much apparent effect) to establish an Academy at it as is the case in all the Counties.

Wednesday, 18*th*. Breakfasted at Tulcher's 15 miles from Waynesborough; and within 4 miles of Augusta met the Govor. (Telfair),[1] Judge Walton,[2] the Attorney Genl. and most of the principal Gentlemen of the place; by whom I was escorted into the Town, and recd. under a discharge of Artillery, the distance I came to day was about 32 miles. Dined with a large Company at the Governors,[3] and drank Tea there with many well dressed Ladies.

The Road from Savanna to Augusta is, for the most part, through Pine barrens; but more uneven than I had been accustomed to since leavg. Petersburgh in Virginia, especially after riding about 39 miles from the City of that name; here and there indeed, a piece of Oak land is passed on this Road, but of small extent and by no means of the first quality.

Thursday, 19*th*. Received and answered an Address from the Citizens of Augusta;[4] dined with a large Company of them at their Court Ho. and went to an Assembly in the evening at the Accadamy;[5] at which there were between 60 and 70 well dressed ladies.

Friday, 20*th*. Viewed the Ruins, or rather small Remn. of the Works which had been erected by the British during

[1] Edward Telfair, Governor of Georgia, 1786 and 1789; delegate to the Continental Congress, 1778–82.

[2] George Walton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Delegate to the Continental Congress, 1776–81; Chief Justice of Georgia, 1783; Representative in the United States Congress, 1795–96.

[3] Governor Telfair's estate was known as 'The Grove,' and was outside the city limits.

[4] This original Address, signed by George Walton and others, is in the Washington Papers, and, together with Washington's answer, is contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] The Richmond Academy, the buildings of which were used for State offices when the State Government first moved to Augusta from Savannah. The Assembly on this occasion was a ball given by Mrs. Edward Telfair. (*Henderson*, pp. 242–46.)

the War and taken by the Americans.[1] Also the falls, which are about 2 miles above the Town; and the Town itself.

These falls (as they are called) are nothing more than rapids. They are passable in their present State by boats with skilful hands, but may at a very small expence be improved, by removing a few rocks only, to streighten the passage. Above them there is good boat navigation for many miles; by which the produce may be, and in some measure is, transported. At this place, i.e. the falls, the good lands begin; and encrease in quality to the westward and No.ward. All below them, except the Interval lands on the Rivers and Rice Swamps which extend from them, the whole Country is a Pine barren. The town of Augusta is well laid out with wide and spacious Streets. It stands on a large area of a perfect plain but it is not yet thickly built tho' surprizingly so for the time; for in 1783 there were not more than half a dozen dwelling houses; now there are not less than [ ] containing about [ ] Souls of which about [ ] are blacks. It bids fair to be a large Town being at the head of the *present* navigation, and a fine Country back of it for support, which is settling very fast by Tobacco planters. The culture of which article is encreasing very fast, and bids fair to be the principal export from the State; from this part of it, it certainly will be so.

Augusta, though it covers more ground than Savanna, does not contain as many Inhabitants the latter having by the late census between 14 and 1500 hundred whites and about 800 blacks.

Dined at a private dinner with Govr. Telfair to day; and gave him dispatches for the Spanish Govr. of East Florida,[2] respecting the Countenance given by that Governmt. to

[1] Augusta was captured by the combined forces of Henry Lee and Andrew Pickens in June, 1781, after a short siege.

[2] Governor Don Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada.

the fugitive Slaves of the Union,[1] wch. dispatches were to be forwarded to Mr. Seagrove,[2] Collector of St. Mary's who was requested to be the bearer of them, and instructed to make arrangements for the prevention of these evils and, if possible, for the restoration of the property — especially of those slaves wch. had gone off since the orders of the Spanish Court, to discountenance this practice of recg. them.

Saturday, 21*st*. Left Augusta about 6 o'clock, and takg. leave of the Governor and principal Gentlemen of the place at the bridge over Savanna River, where they had assembled for the purpose, I proceeded in Company with Colos. Hampton [3] and Taylor,[4] and Mr. Lithgow [5] a committee from Columbia, (who had come on to meet and conduct me to that place) and a Mr. Jameson [6] from the Village of Granby on my Rout.

Dined at a house [7] about 29 miles from Augusta and lodged at one Odem,[8] about 20 miles farther.

[1] This matter of harboring runaway slaves had a beginning as far back as 1790. In October of that year Jefferson, as Secretary of State, acknowledged receipt, to the Spanish Commissioner José Ignacio de Viar, of the King of Spain's orders not to permit runaway slaves from the United States to claim freedom within the limits of East Florida (Jefferson to Viar, 1790, October 27th, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). As a result of the dispatches here mentioned, Seagrove signed articles of agreement with Quesada which protected the interests of the American slaveholders. This agreement was not fulfilled as completely as the United States thought possible, and further representations were made by Jefferson to the Governors of South Carolina and Georgia, December 15, 1791. Press copies of this letter and its accompanying documents are also in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] James Seagrove, of St. Patrick, Georgia, Superintendent of Creek Indians and United States Commissioner to Spanish Governor of East Florida in 1791; Collector of Customs at St. Mary's. The name of St. Patrick's was changed to St. Mary's. It is on the St. Mary's River.

[3] Colonel Wade Hampton was with Marion and Sumter during the Revolution. Representative in the United States Congress, 1795–97; 1803–05.

[4] Colonel Thomas Taylor. [5] Robert Lithgoe. [6] Robert (?) Jameson.

[7] Henderson (p. 251) quotes J. A. Chapman's *History of Edgefield County, South Carolina*, that this house was known as 'Pine House' or 'Piney Woods House,' owned by the Bettis family.

[8] There are numerous names, Odem, Odum, Odom, Odam, and Oddum, given in the Census returns of 1790.

Sunday, 22*d*. Rode about 21 miles to breakfast, and passing through the village of Granby just below the first falls in the Congaree (which was passed in a flat bottomed boat at a Rope ferry,) I lodged at Columbia,[1] the newly adopted Seat of the Government of South Carolina about 3 miles from it, on the No. side of the River, and 27 from my breakfasting stage.

The whole Road from Augusta to Columbia is a pine barren of the worst sort, being hilly as well as poor. This circumstance added to the distance, length of the stages, want of water and heat of the day, foundered one of my horses very badly.

Beyond Granby 4 miles I was met by sevl. Gentlemen of that place and Wynnsborough; and on the banks of the River on the No. side by a number of others, who escorted me to Columbia.

Monday, 23*d*. Dined at a public dinner in the State house[2] with a number of Gentlemen and Ladies of the Town of Columbia, and Country round about to the amt. of more than 150, of which 50 or 60 were of the latter.

Tuesday, 24*th*. The condition of my foundered horse obliged me to remain at this place, contrary to my intention, this day also.

Columbia is laid out upon a large scale; but, in my opinion, had better been placed on the River below the falls. It is now an uncleared wood, with very few houses in it, and those all wooden ones. The State House (which is also of wood) is a large and commodious building, but unfinished. The Town is on dry, but cannot be called high ground, and though surrounded by Piney and Sandy land is, itself, good. The State house is near two miles from the

[1] The capital was moved to Columbia about 1786.

[2] Henderson (p. 254) describes this dinner at some length.

River, at the confluence of the Broad River and Saluda. From Granby the River is navigable for Craft which will, when the River is a little swelled, carry 3000 bushels of Grain, when at its usual height less, and always some. The River from hence to the Wateree below which it takes the name of the Santee is very crooked; it being, according to the computed distance near 400 miles. Columbia from Charleston is 130 miles.

Wednesday, 25th. Set out at 4 o'clock for Camden (the foundered horse being led slowly on), breakfasted at an indifferent house 22 miles from the town, (the first we came to) and reached Camden about two o'clock, 14 miles further, when an address was recd. and answered.[1] Dined late with a number of Gentlemen and Ladies at a public dinner.[2] The Road from Columbia to Camden, excepting a mile or two at each place, goes over the most miserable pine barren I ever saw, being quite a white sand, and very hilly. On the Wateree within a mile and half of which the town stands the lands are very good. They Culture Corn, Tobacco and Indigo. Vessels carrying 50 or 60 Hhds. of Tobo. come up to the Ferry at this place at which there is a Tobacco Wharehouse.

Thursday, 26th. After viewing the British works about Camden I set out for Charlotte. On my way, two miles from Town, I examined the ground on wch. Genl. Green and Lord Rawdon [3] had their action. The ground had but just been taken by the former, was well chosen, but he not well established in it before he was attacked; which by

[1] This Address and Washington's answer are contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Said to have been at the house of Colonel John Chesnut. It is still standing, on the northwest corner of King and Fair Streets. (*Henderson*, p. 265.)

[3] Francis, Lord Rawdon, colonel, Volunteers of Ireland, British Provincial Troops, and adjutant-general, British army in America.

capturing a Videt was, in some measure by surprise.[1] Six miles further on I came to the ground where Genl. Gates and Lord Cornwallis had their Engagement wch. terminated so unfavourably for the former.[2] As this was a night meeting of both Armies on their march, and altogether unexpected each formed on the ground they met without any advantage in it on either side it being level and open. Had Genl. Gates been ½ a mile further advanced, an impenetrable Swamp would have prevented the attack which was made on him by the British Army, and afforded him time to have formed his own plans; but having no information of Lord Cornwallis's designs, and perhaps not being apprised of this advantage it was not seized by him.

Camden is a small place with appearances of some new buildings. It was much injured by the British whilst in their possession.[3]

After halting at one Sutton's[4] 14 m. from Camden I lodged at James Ingrams 12 miles farther.

Friday, 27th. Left Ingrams about 4 o'clock, and breakfasting at one Barr's 18 miles distant lodged at Majr. Crawford's 8 miles farther. About 2 miles from this place came to the Corner where the No. Carolina line comes to the Rd. from whence the Road is the boundary for 12 miles more. At Majr. Crawfords I was met by some of the chiefs of the Catawba nation who seemed to be under apprehen-

[1] Known as the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, or the second battle of Camden, April 25, 1781. Rawdon forced Greene from the field and took possession of Camden; but the latter retreated a few miles only, and two weeks later Rawdon in turn was forced to evacuate the town.

[2] This charitable comment upon Gates's inefficiency is characteristic of Washington the Soldier. The disastrous defeat suffered by Gates can, however, neither be excused nor explained in any other way than that Cornwallis was the better general.

[3] Rawdon burned the town before he evacuated it, May 9, 1781.

[4] Sutton's, and the names immediately following — to wit, Barr's, Crawford's and Harrison's — are so numerous in the Census of 1790 as to defy individual identification.

sion that some attempts were making, or would be made to deprive them of part of the 40,000 Acres wch. was secured to them by Treaty and wch. is bounded by this Road.

Saturday, 28th. Sett off from Crawfords by 4 o'clock and breakfasting at one Harrison's 18 miles from it got into Charlotte 13 miles further, before 3 o'clock. Dined with Genl. Polk [1] and a small party invited by him, at a Table prepared for the purpose.

It was not, until I had got near Barr's that I had quit the Piney and Sandy Lands; nor until I had got to Crawford's before the lands took quite a different complexion; here they began to assume a very rich look.

Charlotte is a trifling place, though the Court of Mecklenburg is held in it. There is a School (called a College) [2] in it at which, at times there has been 50 or 60 boys.

Sunday, 29th. Left Charlotte about 7 o'clock, dined at Colo. Smiths [3] 15 miles off, and lodged at Majr. Fifers [4] 7 miles farther.

Monday, 30th. At 4 o'clock I was out from Majr. Fifers; and in about 10 miles at the line which divides Mecklenburgh from Rowan Counties; I met a party of horse belonging to the latter, who came from Salisbury to escort me on. (It ought to have been mentioned also that upon entering the State of No. Carolina I was met by a Party of the Mecklenburgh horse; but these being near their homes I dismissed them.) I was also met 5 miles from Salisbury by the Mayor of the Corporation, Judge McKoy,[5] and

[1] General Thomas Polk.

[2] Queen's Museum; afterward the name of the college was changed to Liberty Hall. (*Henderson*, p. 291.)

[3] Colonel John Smith.

[4] Major Martin Phifer.

[5] Judge Spruce Macay (McKoy).

many others. Mr. Steel,[1] Representative for the district, was so polite as to come all the way to Charlotte to meet me. We arrived at Salisbury about 8 o'clock, to breakfast [2] — 20 miles from Captn. Fifers. The lands between Charlotte and Salisbury are very fine, of a reddish cast and well timbered, with but very little underwood. Between these two places are the first meadows I have seen on the Road since I left Virga. and here also we appear to be getting into a Wheat Country.

This day I foundered another of my horses.

Dined at a public dinner [3] givn. by the Citizens of Salisbury; and in the afternoon drank Tea at the same place with about 20 ladies, who had been assembled for the occasion.

Salisbury is but a small place altho' it is the County town, and the district Court is held in it; nor does it appear to be much on the increase. There is about three hundred souls in it and tradesmen of different kinds.

Tuesday, 31*st.* Left Salisbury about 4 o'clock; at 5 miles crossed the Yadkin, the principal stream of the Pedee, and breakfasted on the No. bank, (while my Carriages and horses were crossing) at a Mr. Young's; fed my horses 10 miles farther, at one Reeds, and about 3 o'clock (after another halt) arrived at Salem, one of the Moravian towns 20 miles farther; In all 35 from Salisbury.

The Road between Salisbury and Salem passes over very little good land, and much that is [in]different; being a good deal mixed with Pine, but not sand.

Salem is a small but neat village; and like all the rest of the Moravian settlements,[4] is governed by an excellent

[1] John Steele, Representative in the United States Congress.

[2] At Captain Edward Yarborough's tavern. [3] At Hughes's Hotel.

[4] In the Address presented to Washington, May 31st, by the Moravians (the original of which is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress), the signers subscribe themselves 'The United Brethren of Wachovia.'

police, having within itself all kinds of artisans. The number of Souls does not exceed 200.

JUNE

Wednesday, 1*st*. Having received information that Governor Martin [1] was on his way to meet me; and would be at Salem this evening, I resolved to await his arrival at this place [2] instead of halting a day at Guilford as I had intended.

Spent the forenoon in visiting the Shops of the different Tradesmen, The houses of accommodation for the single men and Sisters of the Fraternity, and their place of worship. Invited six of their principal people to dine with me, and in the evening went to hear them sing, and perform on a variety of instruments Church music.

In the Afternoon Governor Martin as was expected (with his Secretary) arrived.

[1] Governor Alexander Martin, colonel, Second North Carolina Regiment, in the Revolution; Governor, 1782–85 and 1789–92; delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention, and United States Senator, 1793–99.

[2] The Old Salem Tavern. It is still standing.

1791

June 2–July 4

Original of this diary in Library of Congress

1791

JUNE

Thursday, 2d. In company with the Govr. I set out by 4 O'clock for Guilford. Breakfasted at one Dobsons at the distance of eleven miles from Salem and dined at Guilford 16 miles farther, where there was a considerable gathering of people who had receivd notice of my intention to be there to day, and came to satisfy their curiosity.

On my way I examined the ground on which the Action between General Green and Lord Cornwallis commenced and after dinner rode over that where their lines were formed and the scene closed in the retreat of the American forces. The first line of which was advantageously drawn up, and had the Troops done their duty properly, the British must have been sorely galded in yr advance, if not defeated.[1]

The Lands between Salem and Guilford are, in places, very fine; but upon the whole can not be called more than midling some being very bad.

On my approach to this place (Guilford) I was met by a party of light horse which I prevailed on the Governor to dismiss, and to countermand his orders for others to attend me through the State

Friday, 3d. Took my leave of the Governr.[2] whose inten-

[1] Greene had little faith in the stamina of the militia, and their conduct, the year before, at Camden, certainly had not been such as to justify reliance upon them. The American defeat at the battle of Guilford Court-House (March 15, 1781), as it was called, may have been due principally to Greene's method in using the militia; but defeat though it was, it should be remembered that Charles James Fox said of it, in open Parliament, that another such victory would ruin the British army.

[2] Governor Alexander Martin.

tion was to have attended me to the line, but for my request that he would not; and about 4 Oclock proceeded on my journey. Breakfasted at troublesome Iron works (called 15, but which is at least) 17 miles from Guilford partly in Rain and from my information or for want of it was obliged to travel 12 miles further than I intended today — to one Gatewoods within two miles of Dix' ferry over the Dan at least 30 miles from the Iron works. The Lands over which I passed this day were of various qualities and as I approached the Dan, were a good deal covered with pine.

In conversing with the Governor on the State of Politics in No. Carolina I learnt with pleasure that opposition to the Genl. Government, and the discontents of the people were subsiding fast — and that he should, so soon as he received the Laws which he had written to the Secretary of State for, issue his proclamation requiring all Officers and members of the Governmt. to take the Oaths prescribed by Law. — He seems to condemn the Speculators in Lands and the purchases from the State of Georgia, and thinks as every sensible and disinterested man must that schemes of that sort must involve the Country in trouble — perhaps in blood.

Saturday, 4th Left Mr. Gatewoods about half after Six oclock — and between his house and the Ferry passed the line which divides the States of Virginia and No. Carolina and dining at one Wisoms[1] 16 Miles from the Ferry, lodged at Hallifax old Town. The Road from Dix' Ferry to Wisom's, passes over very hilly (and for the most part) indifferent land, being a good deal mixed with pine though it is said here that pine when mixed with Oak, and more

[1] Washington has written plainly 'Wisoms.' Henderson (p. 324) states that Richard G. Walzer, of Lexington, North Carolina, says that the person referred to was his great-great-grandfather, Nathaniel Wilson.

especially with hiccory is not indicative of a poor soil. From Wisom's to Hallifax old town the soil is good, and of a reddish cast.

Having this day passed the line of No. Carolina and of course finished my tour thro' the three Southernmost States a general description of them may be comprised in the few following words.

From the Seaboard to the falls of all the Rivers which water this extensive region, the lands, except the Swamps, on the Rivers, and the lesser streams which empty into them; and the interval lands higher up the Rivers is with but few exceptions neither more nor less than a continued pine barren very thinly inhabited. The part next the Seaboard, for many miles, is a dead level and badly watered. That above is hilly and not much better watd. but if possible less valuable on account of its hilliness and because they are more inconvenient to Market supposing them capable as the lands below of producing Beef Porke Tar, pitch and Turpentine. The Lands above the falls of the several Rivers from information and as far as my own observation has extended, is of a very superior kind from these being of a greasy red, with large oaks, intermixed with hiccory Chesnut &c. {yielding / producing}[1] Corn Tobo. Wheat, Hemp and other articles in great abundance and are generally thickly inhabited comparatively speaking with those below.

In the lower Country (near the Seaboard) in the States of So. Carolina and Georgia, Rice, as far up as the low Swamps extend is almost the sole article that is raised for Market; Some of the planters of which grow as much Corn

[1] The original of this diary is, plainly, the rough or first draft notes written on the road at the time, as it is interlined and the wording altered in many places. It reads smoothly, however, and this place and the comment on the entertainment of travelers (*post*) are the only points where the exact word intended is not plain.

as, with the Sweet Potatoes, support their people; — The middle Country — that is between the Rice lands and the falls of the Rivers and a little above them, is cultivated chiefly in Corn and Indigo and the upper Country in Tobacco, Corn, Hemp and in some degree the smaller grains

It is nearly the same in No. Carolina, with this difference however that, as not much rice is planted there, especially in the northern parts of the State, Corn, some Indigo, with Naval Stores and Porke, are substituted in its place, but as Indo is on the decline Hemp, Cotton &c. are coming in its place.

The Inland navigations of the Rivers of these three States, may be improved (according to the ideas I have formed of the matter) to a very extensive degree — to great and useful purposes — and at a very moderate expence compared with the vast utility of the measure; inasmuch as the falls in all of them are trifling and their lengths great; (quite to the Mountns) penetrating the Country in all directions by their lateral branches and in their present State except at the falls wch. as has been observd before are trifling except that of the Pedee navigable for vessels carrying sevl. Hhds. of Tobo. or other Articles in proportion

The prices at which the Rice lands in the lower parts of the State are held is very great — those of ym. wch. have been improved comd. from 20 to 30£ Sterlg. — £50 has been given for some — and from £10 to 15 is the price of it in its rude state. — The pine barrens adjoining these sell from one to two dollars pr acre according to circumstances. — The interval Lands on the River below the falls, and above the Rice swamps also command a good price but not equal to the abe. and this pine barren less than those below — The lands of the upper Country sell from 4 to 6 or 7 dollars according to the quality and circumstances thereof.

In the upper parts of No. Carolina wheat is pretty much grown and the Farmers seem disposed to try Hemp but the Land Carriage is a considerable drawback having between 2 and 300 Miles to carry their produce wither to Chs. Town, Petersburgh or Wilmington wch. are their three great Marts though of late Fayettesville receives a gd. deal of the bulky articles and they are water borne from thence to Wilmington.

Excepting the Towns (and some Gentlemens Seats along the Road from Charleston to Savanna) there is not within view of the whole road I travelled from Petersburgh to this place, a single house which has anythg. of an elegant appearance — They are altogether of Wood and chiefly of logs — some indd. have brick chimneys but generally the chimneys are of split sticks filled with dirt between them.

The accomodations on the whole Road (except in the Towns and even there, as I was prepared for I had no opportunity of Judging, lodgings having been provided for me in them at my own expence) we found extremely indifferent the houses being small and badly provided either for man or horse; though extra exertions when it was known I was coming, wch. was generally the case, were made to receive me. It is not easy to say on which road — the one I went or the one I came — the entertainment is most indifferent — but with truth it may { affirmed / be added }[1] that both are bad, and to be accounted for from the kind of travellers which use them; which with a few exceptions only on the uppr. Rd. are no other than Waggoners and families removing; who, generally, take their provisions along with them. The people however appear to have abundant means to live well the grounds where they are settled yielding grain in abundance and the natural herbage a multitude of meat with little or no labr. to provide

[1] See entry and note under June 4th, *ante*.

food for the support of their stock especially in Georgia where it is said the Cattle live through the winter without any support from the owners of them.

The manners of the people, as far as my observations, and means of information extended, were orderly and Civil. and they appeared to be happy, contented and satisfied with the genl. governmt. under which they were placed. — Where the case was otherwise, it was not difficult to trace the cause to some demagogue, or speculating character. — In Georgia the dissatisfied part of them at the late treaty with the Ck. Indians were evidently Land Jobbers, who, maugre every principle of Justice to the Indians and policy to their Country would, for their own immediate emolument, strip the Indns. of all their territory if they could obtain the least countenance to the measure. but it is to be hoped the good sense of the State will set its face against such diabolical attempts. And it is also to be wished — and by many it was said it might be expected — that the sales by that State to what are called the Yazoo Companies would fall through

The discontents which it was supposed the last Revenue Act [1] (commonly known by the Excise Law) would create subside as fast as the law is explained and little was said of the Banking Act.[2]

Sunday, 5th. Left the old Town about 4 Oclock A.M.; and breakfasting at one Prides (after crossing Banister River 1½ miles) abv. 11 miles from it, came to Staunton River about 12; where meeting Colo. Isaac Coles [3] (for-

[1] The Act, approved March 3, 1791 (repealing the Act of August 10, 1790, which imposed duties on imported as well as domestic liquors), which laid other duties in their stead and also upon spirits distilled in the United States and provided for the collection of these duties.

[2] This was the Act, approved February 25, 1791, to incorporate the subscribers of the Bank of the United States. One of Alexander Hamilton's pet measures.

[3] Isaac Coles, Representative from Virginia in the United States Congress, 1789–91 and 1793–97.

merly a member of Congress for this district) who pressing me to it, I went to his house about one mile off to dine and to halt a day, for the refreshment of myself and horses; — leaving my Servants and them at one of the usually indifferent Taverns at the Ferry that they might give no trouble, or be inconvenient to a private family.

Monday, 6th. Finding my Horses fared badly at the Ferry for want of Grass, and Colo. Coles kindly pressing me to bring them to his Pasture, they were accordingly brought there to take the run of it till night. dined at this Gentlemans today also.

The Road from Hallifax old Ct. Ho. or town to Staunton River passes for the most part over thin land a good deal mixed with Pine.

Tuesday, 7th. Left Colo. Coles by day break, and breakfasted at Charlotte Ct. Ho. 15 miles where I was detained sometime to get shoes put on such horses as had lost them — proceeded afterwards to Prince Edward Court House 20 Miles further.

The Lands from Staunton to Charlotte Ct. Ho. are in genl. good, and pretty thickly settled; they are cultivated chiefly in Tobo. wheat and Corn, with Oats and flax — The Houses (tho' not elegt.) are in genl. decent, and bespeak good livers; being for the most part weatherboarded and shingled, with brick Chimnies — but from Charlotte Ct. Ho. to Prince Edward Ct. Ho. the lands are of an inferior quality with few inhabitants in sight of the Road, tho it is said they are thick settled off it, the Roads by keeping the Ridges pass on the most indifferent ground.

Wednesday, 8th. Left Prince Edward Court Ho. as soon as it was well light, and breakfasted at one Treadways 13

miles off; — dined at Cumberland Ct. Ho. 14 miles further and lodged at Moores Tavern within 2 miles from Carters ferry over James River —

The road from Prince Edward Court Ho. to Treadways was very thickly settled, although the land appeared thin, and the growth is a great degree pine. and from Treadways to Cumberland Ct. Ho. they were equally well settled on better land, less mixed, and in places not mixed at all with pine — the buildings appear to be better.

Thursday, 9th. Set off very early from Moores but the proper ferry boat being hauled up, we were a tedious while crossing in one of the Boats used in the navigation of the River; being obliged to carry one carriage at a time without horses and crossways the Boat on planks. Breakfasted at a Widow pains 17 miles on the No. side of the River, and lodged at a Mrs. Jordans a private house where we were kindly entertained and to which we were driven by necessity having Rode not less than 25 miles from our breakfasting stage through very bad Roads in a very sultry day witht. any refreshment and by missing the right road had got to it.

From the River to the Widow Pains, and thence to Andersons bridge over the North Anna Branch of Pamunky, the Lands are not good, nor thickly settled on the Road but are a good deal mixd w Pine; nor does the Soil and growth promise much (except in places) from thence for several miles further; but afterwards, throughout the county of Louisa, which is entered after passing the Bridge, the River over which it is made dividing it from Goochland they are much better and continued so with little exception quite to Mrs. Jordans.

Friday, 10th. Left Mrs. Jordans early, and breakfasting at one Johnstons 7 miles off reached Fredericksburgh after

another (short) halt about 3 Oclock and dined and lodged at my Sister Lewis's

The Lands from Mrs. Jordans to Johnsons, and from there for several miles further are good but not rich afterwards (as you approach nearer to Rappahannock River) they appear to be of a thinner quality and more inclined to black Jacks.

Saturday, 11*th*. After a dinner with several Gentlemen whom my Sister had invited to dine with me I crossed the Rappahannock and proceeded to Stafford Ct. House where I lodged. —

Sunday, 12*th*. About Sunrise we were off — breakfasted at Dumfries and arrived at Mt. Vn. to Dinr. From Monday 13th until Monday the 27th (being the day I had appointed to meet the Commissioners [1] under the residence act, at Georgetown) I remained at home; and spent my time in daily rides to my severl. farms and in receiving many visits. —

Monday, 27*th*. Left Mount Vernon for Georgetown before Six oclock; — and according to appointment met the Commissioners at that place by 9 — then calling together the Proprietors [2] of those Lands on which the federal City was proposed to be built who had agreed to cede them on certain conditions at the last meeting I had with them at this place but from some misconception with respect to the extension of their grants had refused to make conveyances and recapitulating the principles upon which my comns. to

[1] Thomas Johnson, David Stuart, and Daniel Carroll, of 'Duddington.'

[2] The Proprietors, according to the agreement signed March 30, 1791 (*ante*), were: Robert Peter, David Burnes, James M. Lingan, Uriah Forrest, Notley Young, Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, Overton Carr, Thomas Beale, of George, Charles Beatty, Anthony Holmead, William Young, Abraham Young, William Prout, Eliphas Douglass, W. Warren, James Warren, William King, Edward Pierce, and James Pierce.

them at the former meeting were made and giving some explanation of the present State of matters and the consequences of delay in this business they readily waved their objections and agd. to convey to the utmost extent of what was required.

Tuesday, 28*th.* Whilst the Commissioners were engaged in preparing the Deeds to be signed by the Subscribers this afternoon, I went out with Majr. L'Enfant and Mr. Ellicot to take a more perfect view of the ground, in order to decide finally on the spots on which to place the public buildings [1] and to direct how a line which was to leave out a Spring (commonly known by the name of the Cool Spring) [2] belonging to Majr. Stoddart should be run.

Wednesday, 29*th.* The Deeds which remained unexecuted yesterday were signed to day [3] and the Dowers of their respective wives acknowledged according to Law.

This being accomplished, I called the several subscribers together and made known to them the spots on which I meant to place the buildings for the P: and Executive departments of the Government — and for the Legislature of Do. — A Plat was also laid before them of the City in order to convey to them general ideas of the City but they were told that some deviation from it would take

[1] The sites decided upon were practically as afterward settled. The Capitol was fixed, as L'Enfant wished, on Jenkins Hill, now called Capitol Hill; and the President's House, approximately where it is to-day; the other Government buildings were to be grouped in the vicinity of the President's House.

[2] This spring, owned by Major Benjamin Stoddert, was about in line with F Street, N.E., extended. It was known also as Stoddert's Spring. It is now within the city limits, and an ice plant has been built over it.

[3] On June 29, 1791, nineteen original Proprietors of the greater part of the lands, then constituting the City of Washington, conveyed them, in trust, to Thomas Beale, of Georgetown, and John M. Gantt, who were to convey them, in turn, as required, to the President of the United States. The form of these deeds is printed in William Tindall's *Origin, Etc., District of Columbia* (Washington: 1903), p. 91.

place — particularly in the diagonal streets or avenues, which would not be so numerous; and in the removal of the Presidents house more westerly for the advantage of higher ground — they were also told that a Town house, or exchange wd be placed on some convenient ground between the spots designed for the public buildgs. before mentioned. — and it was with much pleasure that a general approbation of the measure seemed to pervade the whole.

Thursday, 30th. The business which brot. me to Georgetown being finished and the Comrs.[1] instructed with respect to the mode of carrying the plan into effect I set off this morning a littel after 4 Oclock in the prosecution of my journey towards Philadelphia; and being desirous of seeing the nature of the Country North of Georgetown, and along the upper road, I resolved to pass through Fredericktown in Maryland and York and Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and accordingly —

Breakfasted at a small village called Williamsburgh [2] in which stand the Ct. House of Montgomerie County 14 M from George Town — dined at one Peters's Tavern 20 miles further and arrived at Frederick town [3] about Sundown the whole distance 43 miles. —

The road by wch I passed is rather hilly, but the lands are good and well timbered from Monocasy to F. T 4 miles they are very rich and fine the Country is thicker settled and the farm Houses of a better kind than I expected to find. This is well calculated for small grain of wch a good deal is now on the grd. but thin — owing as the farmers think to the extreme drought of the Spring though more, as it appeared to me, to the frosts and want of Snow to cover their fds. during the winter.

[1] Johnson, Stuart, and Carroll.

[2] Williamsburg is now Rockville, the county seat of Montgomery County; it is judged to be sixteen miles from Washington.

[3] In Frederick Washington lodged at Brothers Tavern.

JULY

Friday, 1*st*. Received an Address from the Inhabitants of Frederick town [1] and about 7 Oclock left it — dined at one Cockerlys 13 miles off and lodged at Tawnytown [2] only 12 miles farther being detained at the first stage by rain and to answer the address wch had been presented to me in the morning. — Tawnytown is but a small place with only the street through wch the road passes, built on the buildings are principally of wood — Between Cockerly's and this place, we crossed the little and great Pipe Cks branches of Monocasy the latter (about half way betwn them) is a considerable stream and from its appearance capable of navigation — The lands over wch we travelled this day are remarkably fine but, as was observed yesterday the fields are thinly covered with grain — owing, as I conceive, to the cause already mentioned. The farm houses are good mostly of stone and the settlers compact with good Barns and meadows appertaining to them.

Saturday, 2*d*. Set out a little after 4 Oclock and in abt. 6 miles crossed the line wch divides the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania — the Trees on wch are so grown up that I could not perceive the opening though I kept a look-out for it. 9 miles from Tawny town Littlestown is past they are of similar appe. but ye latter is more insignificant than the former. Seven miles farther we came to Hanover (commonly called McAlisters town) a very pretty village with a number of good brick Houses and Mechanics in it — At this place, in a good Inn, we breakfasted and in 18 miles more reached York Town where we dined and lodged.

[1] The original Address is in the Washington Papers, and, with the answer, is contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Tawnytown is now known as Terra Rubra. Washington lodged at the house of John Ross Key.

The Country from Tawny Town to York town is exceedingly pleasant thickly inhabited and much improvd The dwelling Houses, Barns and Meadows being good After dinner in company with Colo Hartley [1] and other Gentlemen I walked through the principal streets of the Town and drank Tea at Col Hartleys. The Ct. Ho. was illuminated.

Sunday, 3d. Received, and answered an address from the Inhabitants of York town [2] and there being no Episcopal Minister present in the place, I went to hear morning Service performed in the Dutch reformed Church — which, being in that language not a word of which I understood I was in no danger of becoming a proselyte to its religion by the eloquence of the Preacher. —

After Service, accompanied by Colo. Hartley and half a dozen other Gentlemen, I set off for Lancaster — Dined at Wright's Ferry where I was met by Genl. Hand [3] and many of the principal characters of Lancaster and escorted to the town by them, arriving at 6 oclock.

The Country from York to Lancaster is very fine, thick-settled, and well cultivated About the ferry they are extremely rich. — the river Susquehannah at this place is more than a mile wide and some pretty views on the banks of it.

Monday, 4th. This being the Anniversary of American

[1] Colonel Thomas Hartley; he had been colonel of one of the sixteen additional Continental regiments during the Revolutionary War.

[2] The original Address is in the Washington Papers, and, with the answer, is contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Brigadier-General Edward Hand. He came to America in 1774 as a surgeon's mate in the Eighteenth or Royal Irish Foot, British Army, and, on the outbreak of the Revolution, joined the Colonials. He served on the Sullivan Indian expedition; commanded a brigade of the Light Infantry, and succeeded Colonel Alexander Scammell as Adjutant-General of the Continental Army. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1784–85.

Independence and being kindly requested to do it, I agreed to halt here this day and partake of the entertainment which was preparing for the celebration of it. In the forenoon I walked about the town — at half passed 2 oclock I received, and answered an address from the Corporation [1] and the complimts. of the Clergy of different denominations — dined between 3 and 4 Oclock — drank Tea with Mrs. Hand about [2]

[1] The original of this Address is in the Washington Papers, and, with the answer, is contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Unfinished.

1791

July 5–December 31

1792–1793

1794

January 1–September 29

Diaries missing

1794

September 30–October 20

Original in the Library of Congress

1794

SEPTEMBER

Tuesday, 30th. Having determined from the Report of the Commissioners,[1] who were appointed to meet the Insurgents in the Western Counties in the State of Pennsylvania, and from other circumstances — to repair to the places appointed for the Rendezvous of the Militia of New Jersey Pennsylvania Maryland and Virginia; I left the City of Philadelphia about half past ten oclock this forenoon accompanied by Colo. Hamilton (Secretary of the Treasury) and my private Secretary.[2] Dined at Norris

[1] In the summer of 1794 the discontents aroused by the excise laws of March 3, 1791, and May 8, 1792, led to open violence in the western counties of Pennsylvania. The trouble reached its greatest heights in Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, and Allegheny Counties. The Inspector of the Revenue and the United States Marshal were driven from the country by an armed mob; other United States officers suffered violence; buildings were burned and law set at defiance. James Wilson, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court on the Western Circuit, notified the President on August 4th that the execution of the laws of the United States was obstructed by combinations of men, too powerful to be suppressed by ordinary judicial proceedings, and, acting on this information, Washington issued a proclamation on August 7th, commanding all such persons to cease their opposition by September 1st.

James Ross, Jasper Yeates, and William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, had been appointed, August 5th, as commissioners 'to confer with the citizens in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, in order to induce them to submit peaceably to the laws, and to prevent the necessity of using coercion to inforce their execution.' Ross was United States Senator from Pennsylvania, Yeates was an Associate Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and Bradford was Attorney-General of the United States. They reported the result of their mission September 24, 1794.

Washington's proclamation of August 7th proved ineffective, and the report of the Commissioners holding out small hope of an accommodation, Washington decided to bring to bear the armed power of the Government. He, therefore, ordered forward the militia of the four adjacent States; issued a last proclamation, September 25th, warning the people to obey the laws and 'not to abet, aid or comfort the Insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril,' and set out himself for the rendezvous of the troops, as stated in the Diary.

[2] Bartholomew Dandridge, who succeeded Tobias Lear.

Town and lodged at a place called the Trap [1] — the first 17, and the latter 25 miles from Philadelphia

At Norris Town we passed a detachment of Militia who were preparing to March for the rendezvous at Carlisle and at the Trap, late in the evening we were overtaken by Major Stagg [2] principal Clerk in the Department of War with letters from Genl. Wayne [3] and the Western Army containing official and pleasing accounts of his engagement with the Indians near the British Post at the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake and of his having destroyed all the Indian Settlements on that River in the vicinity of the said Post quite up to the grand Glaize the quantity not less than 5000 acres — and the Stores &c. of Colo. McGee [4] the British Agent of Indian Affairs a mile or two from the Garrison

OCTOBER

1*st.* Left the Trap early, and breakfasting at Potts grove [5] 11 miles we reach Reading to Dinner 19 miles farther, where we found several detachmts. of Infantry and Cavalry preparing for their March to Carlisle.

2*d.* an accident happening to one of my horses occasiond. my setting out, later than was intended I got off in time

[1] The Trappe was on the old Germantown road.

[2] Major John Stagg. He had been Assistant Adjutant-General of the Continental Army.

[3] Wayne's letter was to the Secretary of War, Knox, and was dated August 28, 1794. It described the battle of August 20, 1794 (Fallen Timber), and, with its enclosures, will be found in the *American State Papers* (1832), *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 491.

[4] Colonel Alexander McKee. Wayne's troops pursued the Indians to within gunshot of the British post, and an interchange of rather sharp notes between the British commandant and 'Mad Anthony' ensued, copies of which were enclosed in Wayne's letter of August 20, 1794, as above.

[5] Washington had been at Potts Grove twice before during the Revolutionary War period, in September, 1777, and July, 1782.

however, to make a halt (to bait my horses) at Womelderfs 14 miles and to view the Canal from Myerstown towards Lebanon and the Locks between the two places; which (four adjoining each other, in the dissent from the Summit ground along the Tulpihockin; built of Brick;) appeared admirably constructed. Reached Lebanon at night 28 miles.

3d. Breakfasted at Humels T.[1] 14 M. and dined and lodged at Harrisburgh [2] on the Banks of the Susquehanna 23 miles from Lebanon.

At Harrisburgh we found the first Regiment of New Jersey (about 560 strong) commd. by Colo. Turner [3] drawn out to receive me; passed along the line, to my Quarters and after dinner walked through and round the Town which is considerable for its age (of about 8 or 9 years). The Susquehanna at this place abounds in the Rockfish of 12 or 15 Inches in length and a fish which they call Salmon.

4th. Forded the Susquehanna; nearly a mile wide, including the Island at the lower end of wch. the road crosses it.

On the Cumberland side I found a detachment of the Philadelphia light horse was ready to receive, and escort me to Carlisle 17 miles; where I arrived about 11 Oclock. two miles short of it, I met the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey [4] with all the Cavalry that had rendezvoused at that place drawn up passed them and the Infantry of Pennsylvania before I alighted at my quarters.

[1] Humelstown.

[2] Washington is thought to have lodged in an old brick tavern, not now standing, on Market Street.

[3] New Jersey's published lists of her troops sent on this expedition does not contain Colonel Turner's name. The First New Jersey Regiment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Davenport.

[4] Governor Thomas Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, and Governor Richard Howell, of New Jersey.

Sunday, 5th. Went to the Presbiterian meeting and heard Doctr. Davidson [1] Preach a political Sermon, recommendations of order and good government; and the excellence of that of the United States.

6th to the 12*th.* Employed in Organizing the several detachments, which had come in from different Counties of this State, in a very disjointed and loose manner; or rather I ought to have said in urging and assisting Genl. Mifflin to do it; as I no otherwise took the command of the Troops than to press them forward, and to provide them with necessaries for their March, as well, and as far, as our means would admit.

To effect these purposes, I appointed General Hand Adjutant General on the 7th.

On the 9th. William Findley [2] and David Redick [3] deputed by the Committee of safety [4] (as it is dissignated) which met on the 2d of this month at Parkinson Ferry [5] arrived in Camp with the Resolutions of the said Committee; — and to give information of the State of things in the four Western Counties of Pennsylvania to wit Washington, Fayette Westd [6] and Allegany in order to see if it would prevent the March of the Army into them.

At 10 oclock I had a meeting with these persons in presence of Govr. Howell (of New Jersey) the Secretary of the Treasury, Colo. Hamilton, and Mr. Dandridge: Govr. Mifflin was invited to be present, but excused himself on acct. of business.

[1] The Reverend Doctor Robert Davidson.

[2] Findley was from Westmoreland County. He afterward published *The History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1796). At the time of the insurrection Findley was Representative to the United States Congress.

[3] David Redick, of Washington County.

[4] The Committee of Safety, so-called, were the delegates appointed in public meetings by the townships; they met at Parkinson's Ferry, October 2d.

[5] Parkinson's Ferry on the Monongahela River, now Monongahela.

[6] Westmoreland County.

I told the Deputies that by one of the Resolutions [1] it would appear that they were empowered to give information of the disposition and of the existing state of matters in the four Counties abovemend: that I was ready to hear, and would listen patiently, and with candour to what they had to say.

Mr. Findley began. He confined his information to such parts of the four Counties as he was best acquainted with; referring to Mr Reddick for a recital of what fell within his knowledge, in the other parts of these Counties.

The substance of Mr. Findleys communications were as follows — viz — That the People in the parts where he was best acquainted, had seen there folly, and he believed were disposed to submit to the Laws; that he thought, but could not undertake to be responsible, for the reestablishment of the public Offices for the collection of the Taxes on distilled spirits and Stills — intimating however, that it might be best for *the present*, and until the peoples minds were a little more tranquilized, to hold the Office of Inspection at Pitsburgh under the protection — or at least under the influence of the Garrison; — That he thought the Distillers would either enter their stills or would put them down; — That the Civilian authority was beginning to recover its tone; and enumerated some instances of it; — That the ignorance and general want of information among the people far exceeded any thing he had any conception of; That it was not merely the excise law their opposition was aimed at, but to all law, and Government; — and to the Officers of Government; — and that the situation in which he had been, and the life he had led for sometime, was such, that rather than go through it again, he would prefer quitting this scene altogether. —

[1] These resolutions, of the Parkinson Ferry meeting, October 2d, are to be found in *The History of the Western Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania commonly called the Whiskey Insurrection, 1794*, by H. M. Brackenridge (Pittsburgh, 1859), p. 253.

Mr Redicks information was similar to the above; except as to the three last recitals on wch I do not recollect that he expressed any sentiment further than that the situation of those who were not in the opposition to government whilst the frenzy was at its height, were obliged to sleep with their Arms by their bed sides every night; not knowing but that before morning they might have occasion to use them in defence of their persons, or their properties —

He added, that for a long time after the riots commenced, and until lately, the distrust of one another was such, that even friends were affraid to communicate their sentiments to each other; — That by whispers this was brought about; and growing bolder as they became more communicative they found their strength, and that there was a general disposition not only to acquiesce under, but to support the Laws — and he gave some instances also of Magistrates enforcing them.

He said the People of those Counties believed that the opposition to the Excise law — or at least that their dereliction to it, in every other part of the U. States was similar to their own, and that no Troops could be got to march against them for the purpose of coercion; — that every acct. until very lately, of Troops marching against them was disbelieved; and supposed to be the fabricated tales of governmental men; — That now they had got alarmed; — That many were disposing of their property at an under rate, in order to leave the Country; and added (I think) that they wd. go to Detroit. — That no person of any consequence, except one, but what had availed themselves of the proffered amnesty; that those who were still in the opposition, and obnoxious to the laws, were men of little or no property, and cared but little where they resided; — That he did not believe there was the least intention in them to oppose the Army; — and that there was not three rounds of ammunition for them in all the Western Country.

— He (and I think Mr. Findley also) was apprehensive that the resentments of the Army might be productive of treatment to some of those people that might be attended with disagreeable consequences; and on that account seemed to deprecate the March of it: declaring however, that it was their wish, if the people did not give proofs of unequivocal submission, that it might not stop short of its object —

After hearing what both had to say, I briefly told them — That it had been the earnest wish of governmt. to bring the people of those counties to a sense of their duty, by mild, and lenient means; — That for the purpose of representing to their sober reflection the fatal consequences of such conduct Commissioners had been sent amongst them that they might be warned in time of what must follow, if they persevered in their opposition to the laws; but that coercion wou'd not be resorted to except in the dernier resort: — but, that the season of the year made it indispensible that preparation for it should keep pace with the propositions that had been made; — That it was unnecessary for me to enumerate the transactions of those people (as they related to the proceedings of government) forasmuch as they knew them as well as I did; — That the measure which they were now witness to the adoption of was not less painful than expensive — was inconvenient and distressing in every point of view; — but as I considered the support of the Laws as an object of the first magnitude, and the greatest part of the expence had already been incurred, that nothing short of the most unequivocal *proofs* of absolute submission should retard the March of the Army into the Western counties, in order to convince them that the government could, and would enforce obedience to the laws not suffering them to be insulted with impunity. Being asked again what proofs would be required, I answered, they knew as well as I did, what was due to justice and example. They understood my meaning — and

asked if they might have another interview. I appointed five oclock in the Afternoon for it.

At this second meeting there was little more than a repetition of what had passed in the forenoon; — and it being again mentioned that all the *principal* characters, except one, in the Western counties who had been in the opposition, had submitted to the propositions — I was induced, seeing them in the Shed the next day, to ask Mr. Redick who that one was? — telling him at the same time I required no disclosure that he did not feel himself entirely free to make. — He requested a little time to think of it, and asked for another meeting which was appointed at 5 oclock that afternoon — which took place accordingly when he said David Bradford [1] was the person he had alluded to in his former conversations. —

He requested to know if a meeting of the people, by their deputies, would be permitted by the Army at any given point, on their March into that Country (with fresh evidence of the sincerity of their disposition to acquiesce in what ever might be required) I replied I saw no objection to it, provided they came unarmed; but to be cautious that not a gun was fired, as there could be no answering for consequences in this case. — I assured them that every possible care should be taken to keep the Troops from offering them any insult or damage, and that those who always had been subordinate to the Laws and such as had availed themselves of the amnesty, should not be injured in their persons or property; and that the treatment of the rest would depend upon their own conduct. That the Army, unless opposed, did not mean to act as executioners, or bring offenders to a military Tribunal; but merely to aid the civil Magistrates, with whom offences would lye. thus endd. the matter.

[1] Bradford had been prosecuting attorney of Washington County; he was, originally, from Maryland.

On the 10th the light and legionary Corps under the immediate command of Majr. McPherson [1] The Jersey Regiment and Guiney's [2] from Philadelphia commenced their March under the orders of Governor Howell; and the day following the whole body of Cavalry (except the three Troops of Phila. Horse commanded by Captn. Dunlap,[3] as part of the legion above mentioned) under Genl. White [4] a new formed Corps of Independant uniform companies under and several other Corps under the Command of Govr. Mifflin Marched — all for the rendezvous at Bedford

The Rank of the principal officers of the Army being first settled by me, as follow

First — Govr. Lee of Virginia to be commander in chief if I do not go out myself
Second. — Govr. Mifflin.
Third. — Govr. Howell.
Fourth — Majr. General Danl. Morgan, or Majr. Genl. Irvine,[5] according to the dates of their Militia Commissions

The Brigadiers in like manner according to Seniority. —

12*th Octr.* Having settled these matters; seen the Troops off, as before mentioned; given them their rout and days Marching; — and left Majr. Genl. Irvine to organize the remainder of the Pennsylvania detachments as they might come in, and to march them and the Jersey Troops on when refreshed, — I set out from Carlisle about 7 Oclock

[1] Major William Macpherson. He had been a lieutenant and adjutant in the British army, but resigned and joined the Continentals. He held the rank of major and acted for some time as aide to Lafayette. He organized and commanded at this period the 'Macpherson Blues,' which was one of the picturesque militia organizations of the United States.

[2] Colonel Francis Gurney.

[3] Captain John Dunlap, formerly printer to the Continental Congress.

[4] Brigadier-General Anthony Walton White, colonel of the First Continental Dragoons, Continental Army, and now Adjutant-General of New Jersey.

[5] Brigadier-General William Irvine. He had been colonel of the Sixth and Seventh Pennsylvania Regiments during the Revolutionary War.

this Morning — dined at Shippensburg 21 miles and lodged at Chambersburgh 11 m. further where I was joined by the Adjt. Genl. Hand.

13th. Breakfasted at Greencastle 10 miles, and lodged at Williamsport 14 miles further.

Having now passed thro' the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, Williamsport being on the Banks of the Potomac, at the mouth of Conagocheague, I shall summarily notice the kind of Land, and state of Improvements, along the Road I have come.

From the City of Philadelphia, or rather from Norris Town to Reading the road passes over a reddish, and slaty, or shelly kind of land, through a very open and hilly Country, tolerably well cultivated by the farmers. — The farm houses are good, and their Barns above mediocrity. The former chiefly of Stone. The whole Road indeed from Philadelphia to Reading goes over Hilly and broken grounds — but very pleasant notwithstanding

From Reading to Lebanon, along what is called the valley, the Country is extremely fine — The lands rich — The agriculture good as the buildings also are, especially their Barns, which are large and fine, and for the most part of Stone — This settlement is chiefly of Dutch, and upon the Tulpahocken.

From Lebanon to Harrisburgh, along the same vale, the Lands are also good; but not in so high a state of cultivation as between Reading and Lebanon. —

From Harrisburgh to Carlisle the lands are exceedingly fine, but not under such cultivation and improvement as one might have expected.

From Carlisle along the left Road, which I pursued, to be out of the March of the Army, and to avoid the inconvenience of passing the Waggons belonging to it; the Lands are but indifferent until we came within a few miles of

Shippensburgh. The first part being of a thin and dry soil, succeeded by piney flats (not far from the South Mountain) for a few miles before we arrived at Shippensbg the Lands were good, but uncultivated. — The improvements along this road were mean; — the farms scattered; — the houses but indifferent; — and the husbandry apparently bad. — Along the Road which the Troops marched, both the land and the Improvements I was told are much better. — The Roads come together again at the East end of the Town. —

From Shippensburgh to Chambersburgh, the Road passes over pretty good land; better, (but not well) cultivated than that betwn. Carlisle and Shippensburgh

From Chambersburgh to Williamsport the Lands are fine, and the Houses and improvements amended, considerably.

14*th.* About Seven oclock, or half after it, we left Williamsport; and travelling up on the Maryland side of the River, we breakfasted at one —— 13 miles on our way and crossing the Potomac a mile or two below Hancock Town, lodged at the Warm Springs, or Bath; 16 miles from our breakfasting stage — and 29 from Williamsport.

15*th.* Left Bath by seven oclock; and crossing the Cacapeton Mountain, and the Potomack River by a very rough road, we breakfasted at one Goldens distant about 7 miles — Bated our horses at a very indifferent place abt. 13 Miles further on — and lodged at the Old Town 33 or 34 Miles — This distance, from the extreme badness of the Road, more than half of it being very hilly, and great part of it stoney, was a severe days journey for the carriage horses; they performed it however well.

16*th.* After an early breakfast we set out for Cumberland — and about 11 Oclock arrived there.

Three Miles from the Town I was met by a party of Horse under the command of Major Lewis [1] (my Nephew) and by Brigr. Genl. Smith [2] of the Maryland line, who Escorted me to the Camp; where, finding all the Troops under Arms I passed along the line of the Army; was conducted to a house the residence of Major Lynn [3] of the Maryland line (an old Continental Officer) where I was well lodged, and civily entertained.

17*th.* and 18*th.* Remained at Cumberland, in order to acquire a true knowledge of the strength — condition — &ca. of the Troops; and to see how they were provided, and when they could be got in readiness to proceed. —

I found upwards of 3200 men (Officers included) in this Encampment; Understood that about 500 more were at a little village on the Virginia side, 11 miles distant, called Frankfort, under the command of Majr. Genl. Morgan; — that 700 more had arrived at that place, the evening of the 18th. undr. Brigr. Mathews [4] and 500 more were expected in the course of a few days under Colo. Page [5] — and that the whole were well supplied with Provns. Forage and straw.

Having requested that every thing might be speedily arranged for a forward movement, and a light Corps to be organized for the advance under the command of Major Genl. Morgan, I resolved to proceed to Bedford next morng.

At this place a deputation was received from the County of Fayette consisting of a Colo. Major — Terrence and [6]

[1] Major George Lewis. [2] Brigadier-General Samuel Smith.

[3] David Lynn. He had been captain of the Fourth Maryland Regiment in the Revolution.

[4] Brigadier-General George Mathews; he had been colonel of the Ninth Virginia Regiment in the Revolutionary War.

[5] Probably Colonel Carter Page, who had been an aide to Lafayette during the Revolution.

[6] Joseph Torrence?

Clinton who came to give assurances that deposits for the Army might safely be made in that County, and that any person sent from it for this purpose would be safe in doing it. —

They were desired to get there wheat ground up, and their Oats threshed out, to be in readiness to be drawn to any place, or places that might be required after the Army had crossed the Mountains.

From Colo. Major (who has been a uniform friend to Government) and from a variety of concurrant accounts, it appears evident that the people in the Western Counties of this State have got very much alarmed at the approach of the army; but though submission is professed, their principles remain the same; and that nothing but coercion, and example will reclaim and bring them to a due and unequivocal submission to the Laws.

19*th*. In company with Genl. Lee, who I requested to attend me, that all the arrangements necessary for the Army's crossing the Mountns. in two columns might be made; — Their routs, and days Marches fixed, that the whole might move in unison — and accompanied by the Adjutant General [1] and my own family we set out, abt eight oclock, for Bedford, and making one halt at the distance of 12 Miles, reached it a little after 4 Oclock in the afternoon being met a little out of the Encampment by Govr. Mifflin — Govr. Howell — and several other Officers of distinction.

Quarters were provided for me at the House of a Mr. Espy.[2] Prothonotary of the County of Bedford — to which I was carried and lodged very comfortably. —

The Road from Cumberld. to this place is, in places, stoney but in other respects not bad. It passes through a

[1] Edward Hand.
[2] David Espy.

valley the whole way; and was opened by Troops under my command in the Autumn of 1758.[1] The whole Valley consists of good farming land, and part of it — next Cumberland — is tolerably well improved in its culture but not much so in Houses.

20*th.* Called the Quarter Master General,[2] Adjutant General, Contractor,[3] and others of the Staff departmt. before me, and the Commander in chief, at 9 Oclock this morning, in order to fix on the Routs of the two Columns and their stages; and to know what the situation of matters were in their respective departments and when they wd. be able to put the Army in motion. Also to obtain a correct return of the strength and to press the commanding Officers of Corps to prepare with all the Celerity in their power for a forward movement.

Upon comparing accts., it was found that the army could be put in motion 23d — and it was so ordered, by the Routs which will be mentioned hereafter.

Matters being thus arranged I wrote a farewell address to the Army [4] through the Commander in Chief — Govr. Lee — to be published in orders — and having prepared his Instructions [5] and made every arrangement that occurred, as necessary I prepared for my return to Phila-

[1] The road built by Washington's troops on the Bouquet Expedition, which was a factor in forcing the French from Fort Duquesne.

[2] Brigadier-General Henry Miller, of Pennsylvania. Colonel Clement Biddle was Quartermaster-General of Pennsylvania troops on this expedition.

[3] George Gale was the Agent for military supplies, but it is not clear whether he is the one referred to, as Elie Williams was agent for supplying provisions to the militia called into service, or Joel Gibbs, who was contractor for supplying the artillery.

[4] This Address, dated October 20, 1794, is contemporaneously entered in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] The instructions to Major-General Henry Lee, which were signed by Alexander Hamilton, stressed the point of keeping the military subservient to the civil power as much as was practicable. The necessary punishment of the insurgent offenders was to be carried out through the civil authority; the military merely furnishing the needful strength.

delphia [1] in order to meet Congress, and to attend to the Civil duties of my Office

I should have mentioned before that I found (on my arrival at Bedford) the Judge,[2] and Attorney for the district of Pennsylvania [3] attending, as they had been required to do, the Army.

I found also, which appeared to me to be an unlucky measure — that the former had issued his warrants against, and a party of light horse had actually siez'd, one Herman Husbands [4] and one Filson [5] as Insurgents — or abetters of the Insurrection. — I call it unlucky because my intention was to have suspended all proceedings of a civil nature until the Army had united its columns in the Center of the Insurgent Counties and then to have ciezed at one and the same all the leaders and principals of the Insurrection — and because it is to be feared that the proceeding above mentioned will have given the alarm and those who are most obnoxious to punishment will flee from the Country.

[1] Washington's route to Philadelphia from Bedford was: Bedford to Chambersburg, Chambersburg to York, York to Lancaster, Lancaster to Philadelphia, which was reached October 27th.

[2] Judge Richard Peters. He had acted as Secretary to the Board of War of the Continental Congress.

[3] District Attorney William Rawle; he later became attorney and counsel for the Bank of the United States.

[4] Husbands was of Bedford County.

[5] Robert Filson, or Philson, was a storekeeper in Berlin Village, Bedford County.

1794

October 21–December 31

1795

January 1–April 13

Diaries missing

1795

April 14–December 21

Original in the possession of Charles Moran, Jr., New York City. It was presented by Bushrod Washington to Robert Adams, of Philadelphia, in 1827, and came to Charles Moran, Jr., by inheritance. The text here given is from an exact, certified copy, made in 1888, for Dr. J. M. Toner, forming this portion (April 14–December 21, 1795) of Toner *Transcript of the Diary of George Washington.*

1795

APRIL

Tuesday, 14*th*. Left Phila. for Mt. V.

14*th*. Reached Wilmington.

15*th*. Do. —— Roger's Susqa.

16*th*. Baltimore.

17*th*. Bladensburgh.

18*th*. George Town.

19*th*. Mount Vernon and remained there until the 26th.

26*th*. Came to George Town.

27*th*. In the federal City.

28*th*. Arrived at Bladensburgh.

29*th*. Baltimore.

30*th*. Roger's — Susquehanna.

MAY

1*st*. Came to Wilmington.

2*d*. Arrived at Philadelphia.

15*th*. Thunder, lightning and rain — cool.

16*th*. Wind Northerly in the Morng.

17*th*–18*th*. Cool and cloudy, with the wind easterly; same till the 21st.

21*st*. Wind at So. Wt. warm and very heavy rain.

22*d*. Cloudy all day, Wind So.

23*d*. Raining moderately till Noon; Wd. S.W.

24*th*. Clear with the Wind Westerly — rather cool.

25*th*. Clear and rather cool; Wd. Easterly.

26*th*.–27*th*. Wind Southerly and Warm.

28*th*. Do. Do. Do. cloudy.

29*th*. Do. Do. Do. Rain.

30*th*. Raining in the Night. do. about Noon, and at Night.

31*st*. Wind Westerly and clear.

[JUNE]

1*st*. Wind hard at No. Wt. and cold — all day.

2*d*. Do. at St. Wt. fresh and heavy showers after[ward]s.

3*d*. Clear and pleasant. Wind Easterly.

4*th*. Clear. Wind Westerly.

5*th*. Do. fine air. Wind at So. W.

6*th*. Do. Wind at Do. and fresh. Warm.

7*th*. Do. Do. Easterly. Do.

8*th*. Do. Do. Do. Do.

9*th*. Wind fresh at S.W. all day.

10*th*. Do. Do. Do. Rainy night.

11*th*. Wind at N. Et. Raining all day.

12*th*. Do. Do. Raing. more or less.

13*th*. Do. Do. Cloudy and cool till aft.

14*th*. Clear forenoon but cloudy afterws.

15*th*. Cold and disagreeable, Wind. N.E.

16*th*. Wind at So. Wt. Showers and variable.

17*th*. Do. at No. Et. Cloudy forenoon, clear aft.

18*th*. Wind at So. Wt. Clear and growing warm.

19*th*. Do. Do. Clear and very warm.

20*th*. Do. Do. Clear forenoon, rain afterws.

21*st*. Do. Do. Very warm Morng. and day.

22*d*. Do. So. Wt. Warm.

23*d*. Do. Do. Warm with showers.

24*th*. Do. Do. Showers, heavy. Rain all N.

25*th*. Do. Do. Rain in the morng. and afternn.

26*th*. Do. No. Wt. Clear and cooler all day.

27*th*. Do. Westerly. Clear and getting warm.

28*th*. Do. Westerly. Clear and pleast.

29*th*. Do. So. Wt. Clear and warm.

30*th*. Do. Do. Cloudy forenoon, Rain after.

[JULY]

1*st*. Wind at So. Et. Rain'g more or less all day.

2*d*. Do. At East. Cloudy more or less.

3*d*. Do. Do. Clear and growing warm.

4*th*. Do. Do. Heavy morng, but clear afterwds.

5*th*. Do. Do. in the morning, West in the aftern.

6*th*. Do. So. Wt. and fresh. Warm also.

7*th*. Cool morning. fresh No. Wind all day.

8*th*. Southerly and warm, but little Wind.

9*th*. Much as yesterday.

10*th*. Very Sultry, with little or no Wind.

11*th*. Wind at No. Et. and fresh, but wa[rm].

12*th*. Do. Easterly, very warm, clear.

13*th*. Do. St. Wt. Sultry.

14*th*. Do. Northerly and fresh, cooler.

15*th*. Do. Easterly. Cloudy all day.

16*th*. Do. Do. but clear and warmer.

17*th*. Southerly, and growing warmer.

18*th*. Do. and very warm.

19*th*. Do. Do. Do.

20*th*. Do. Do. Do.

21*st*. Do. Still warmer.

22*d*. Do. Very warm.

23*d*. Do. Appearance of Rain.

24*th*. Do. Wt. but very warm, Rain.

25*th*. No. Wt. but warm.

26*th*. West, warm, then East.

27*th*. Easterly. A great deal of Rain.

28*th*. Wind at No. West, clear, pleast.

29*th*. Wd. variable, showers abt.

30*th*. Do. variable, much rain.

31*st*. Do. Showery. Do. Do. in the Night.

JULY

15*th*. Left Phila, with Mrs. Washington and my family for Mt. Vernon.[1] Dined at Chester [2] and lodged at Wilmington.

16*th*. Breakfasted at Christa.[3] dined at Elkton,[4] and lodged at Susquehanna.[5] One of my horses overcome with heat.

17*th*. Breakfasted before I set out, dined at Hartford,[6] and lodged at Webster's. Brot. on the sick horse led.

18*th*. Breakfasted in Baltimore; dined and lodged at Spurrier's where my sick horse died.

19*th*. Breakfasted at Vanhorne's;[7] dined at Bladensburgh, and lodged in Geo. Town.

[1] Jacob Hiltzheimer's diary states that Washington set out about 8 A.M. in a two-horse phaëton, his family in a coach and four, and two mounted servants with a led saddle-horse.

[2] At Mrs. Mary Withy's Columbia Hotel.

[3] Christiana, Delaware.

[4] Elkton, Maryland.

[5] Susquehannah Ferry, now Perryville, Maryland.

[6] Harford, Maryland. Washington uniformly spells it 'Hartford.'

[7] One of Gabriel P. Vanhorn's stage taverns. Vanhorn with Nathaniel Twining and others had established a stage-line between Baltimore and Philadelphia which was afterward extended southward to Washington City.

20*th*. After doing business with the Comrs.[1] of the fedl. City I proceeded on my journey and got home to dinner.

[AUGUST]

1*st*. Wind at No. Wt. Flying clouds, warm.

2*d*. Do. Easterly. Violent Rain and Wind afts.

3*d*. Do. No. Wt. Much rain fell last night.

4*th*. Sml. westerly breeze, quite clear.

5*th*. Do. Do. Do. clear.

6*th*. Clear, still and warm.

7*th*. Wind Southerly and very warm.

8*th*. Same as yesterday with R: aft.

9*th*. Still very warm with clouds.

10*th*. Very warm. Rain afternoon.

11*th*. Cloudy and showery more or less.

12*th*. Wind easterly cloudy and sometime R.

13*th*. Do. Do. Do. Rain in the Night.

14*th*. Do. Do. Do. cooler.

15*th*. Do. No. Easterly, cool and clear.

[1] The commissioners then were Gustavus Scott, William Thornton, and Alexander White.

16*th.* Do. Do. Clear and pleast.

17*th.* Do. Southerly, Rain in the Aftn.

18*th.* Do. Do. growing much warmer.

19*th.* Do. Do. very warm.

20*th.* Do. Do. Do. Rain in the Eveng.

21*st.* Do. No. Et. Cool and raing. more or less.

22*d.* Do. Do. Do. Thick mist all day.

23*d.* Do. Do. Cleared abt. noon and grew W[arm].

24*th.* Do. Do. with sunshine and showers.

25*th.* Do. Southerly and growing warm.

26*th.* Do. Do. Clear and rather warm.

27*th.* Do. Do. Clear and warm.

28*th.* Cloudy forenoon, clear afterwds.

29*th.* Thick morning, clear and hot afterwd.

30*th.* Fresh So. Westerly wind, warm and clear.

31*st.* Wind same. Showery all day and a good deal of Rain in the night.

AUGUST

6*th.* Left home on my return to Philadelphia. Met the Potck. Co. at Geo. Town,[1] and lodged there.[2]

7*th.* Breakfasted at Bladensburgh, dined at Vanhorne's and lodged at Spurr[ier]'s.

8*th.* Breakfasted at Baltimore, and dined and lodged at Webster's.

9*th.* Breakfasted at Hartford, dined at Susquehanna[3] and lodged at Charlestown.

10*th.* Breakfasted at Elkton. Dined at Newcastle and lodged at Wilmington.[4]

11*th.* Breakfasted at Chester and dined at Phila.

SEPTEMBER

1*st.* Wind westerly, some rain, a good deal fell in the night, cool.

2*d.* Wind Northerly, cloudy and sprinkling till Noon.

3*d.* Do. No.W. fine, clear and pleast. all day.

[1] At Wise's Tavern.

[2] At Suter's Tavern; later it became Huff & Suter's.

[3] [August] '17. By a Bank bill of five dollars sent Mr. [John H.] Barney of Havre de Grace out of whch to rece. the ferriage I forgot to pay when I crossed on my last journey from Virga. the bale. to be returned to me or paid when I call there again. Note. this Bill was returned in a letter from Mr. Barney informing me that I had paid the ferriage.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner copy.*)

[4] The accounts for the 10th are: 'Bill at Chestertown £1. 1*s.* 8*d.* Servants at Do. 1*s.* 10½*d.* Bill at Elkton 1. 4. 6. Servants at Do. 1. 10½. Porter at Mitchells 3. 10. Bill at the Bear 3. 10½. Bill at Newcastle 11. 10 Ferry over Christa. 2. 10.' (*Toner Transcript of Memorandum of Account.*)

4*th*. Do. Do. Much such a day as yester day.

5*th*. Do. Do. Cloudy in the morng. clear.

6*th*. No. Et. Showery and cool.

7*th*. Do. Do. Do. Do. Much rain in N[ight].

8*th*. So. Wt. with mists in the forenoon.

9*th*. Do. Clear and very warm.

10*th*. Same as yesterday.

11*th*. Do. Do.

12*th*. Wind at No. Et. cool and cloudy.

13*th*. Do. at So. Et. with Showers, warm.

14*th*. Do. Clear and very warm.

15*th*–17*th*. Do. Do. Do. Do.

18*th*. Do. Do. with rain at night.

19*th*. Do. No. Wt. and cold.

20*th*–21*st*. Do. Do. Do.

22*d*–23*d*. Do. Do. Do. frost slight.

24*th*. Do. Southerly, warmer.

25*th*. Do. Do. and warm.

26*th*. Do. No. Et. and lowering. Equinoctial gale all night.

27*th*. Raing. till noon with high wind from the No. Et. and So. Et.

28*th*. Clear and warm, wind Westerly.

29*th*. Wind at No. Wt. and cool.

30*th*. Do. in same place but warmer.

SEPTEMBER

8*th*. Left Phila. for Mt. Vernon, dined at Chester,[1] and lodged at Wilmington.

9*th*. Breakfasted at Christiana, dined at Elkton, and lodged at Charlestown.

10*th*. Breakfasted at Susquehanna (Mrs. Roger's), dined at Harford and lodged at Webster's.

11*th*. Breakfasted at Baltimore, dined and lodged at Spurriers.

12*th*. Breakfasted at Van Horns. Dined at Bladensburgh, and lodged at George Town.

13*th*. Breakfasted in George Town, and reached Mt. Vernon, to dinner.

25*th*. Went to Alexandria.[2] Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Lear.[3]

26*th*. Returned home to dinner.

[1] At Withy's.

[2] '25th Expenses at Wises £3. 2. 1.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[3] Tobias Lear had married Frances Bassett, the widow of George Augustine Washington, in August, 1795. Lear's first wife, Mary Long, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, died in July, 1793.

OCTOBER

1*st.* Little or no wind and very pleasant.

2*d.* Wind Easterly, clear and pleasant.

3*d.* Do. Southerly and warm.

4*th.* Do. Do. Do.

5*th.* Do. Easterly, good deal of Rain.

6*th.* Do. N. Wt. clear, cooler.

7*th.* Do. Do. and still cool.

8*th.* Do. Do. and cold.

9*th.* Do. Easterly.

10*th.* Do. Lowering and a little R.

11*th.* Wd. at So. Wt. light Showers.

12*th.* Do. Do. clear and growing warm.

13*th.* Calm, clear and very warm.

14*th.* Lowering, not much wind.

15*th.* Rain and very high Wd. So. Wt. and N. W.

16*th.* Clear and cool. Wind at No. Wt.

17*th.* Rain in the Morng. clear afterwds.

18*th*. Clear, Wind pretty fresh. No. W. and S.W.

19*th*. Do. and pleasant.

20*th*. Lowering.

21*st*. Rain in the night. Wd. at East.

22*d*. Misty Morning.

23*d*. Clear.

24*th*. Variable, sometimes cloudy.

25*th*. Clear and pleast, Wd. Westerly.

26*th*–29*th*. Do. Do. Do.

30*th*. Do. Do. Do. warmer.

31*st*. Very thick fog, rain afterwds. and fresh Westerly wind.

[OCTOBER]

12*th*. Set out for Phila.

13*th*. Stayed at Geo. Town.

14*th*. Lodged at Spurriers.[1]

16*th*. Lodged at Websters.[2]

17*th*. Do. at Hartford.

[1] Dined at Bladensburg and lodged at Spurriers.
[2] Dined at Baltimore and lodged at Webster's.

18*th*. Do. at Elkton.[1]

19*th*. Do. at Wilmington.[2]

20*th*. Arrived at Phil.[3]

NOVEMBER

1*st*. Cool and variable. Wind Easterly.

2*nd*. Clear till evening, then cloudy.

3*rd*. Very threatening forenoon and variable.

4*th*. Clear and pleasant. Wind Westerly.

The whole month of November has been remarkably pleasant. The ground has never been froze, but few white frosts, and no Snow.

DECEMBER

1*st*. Mild and pleast. Wind Southerly.

7*th*. A good deal of Rain fell last night, with the wind at East.

12*th*. Rain, with the Wind at East.

13*th*. Misting and Raining a little through the day.

20*th*. Snow about 2 Inches deep.

21*st*. Raining.

[1] Dined at Mrs. Rogers', Susquehannah, and lodged at Elkton.
[2] Dined at Christiana and lodged at Wilmington.
[3] Dined at Chester and arrived at Philadelphia this same day.

1795

December 22–December 31

1796

Diaries missing

1797

January 1–December 31

Original in the possession of Mr. John Gribbel, Wyncote, Pennsylvania, who generously permitted this copy to be taken. The diary is a 32° bound in brown Russia, on which is stamped in gilt: 'Given to C. Hughes at Mount Vernon. 1825. By Judge B. Washington.'

1797

JANUARY

1. Clear, wind westerly, went to church.

2. Cloudy forenoon, wind westerly, much company to compliment the Season.[1]

3. Snowing from 10 oclock until 4, wind westerly. Went to see Davenports Duck Manufry.[2]

4. Wind Southeasterly, and cold moderating; a large company of Gentelmen and ladies dined with me.

5. Clear, wind stil So. westerly and more moderate tho' cold. A large Compy. of Gentn. dined [here].

6. Clear and moderate, wind still at So. Wt. Road out between 10 and 12 Oclock. A good deal of Company in the evening.

7. Wind at No. West and cold with clouds. Road to Germantown with Mrs. Washington to see Mr. Stuarts paintings.[3]

[1] New Year's Day, 1797, fell on Sunday.

[2] James Davenport's Globe Mills at the north end of Second Street, Philadelphia, one of the earliest manufactories in the United States for spinning and weaving by the use of water power. 'By expenses at the Duck Manufactury £2. 2. 0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[3] Gilbert Stuart established his studio, in 1796, in Germantown. The house and studio were on Main Street, near Manheim, and are not now standing. It is supposed that the so-called Lansdowne portrait of Washington and what is known as the Boston Athenæum portrait were painted here. The frontispiece to these volumes is a Stuart portrait, painted in this studio, according to Dr. Gustavus A. Eisen, whose researches also establish that Louis Marie, Comte de Noailles, posed for the figure in this portrait. Noailles had been colonel of the *Régiment Soissonnais;* he was a great admirer of Washington and presented him with the sword which Stuart reproduced in the portrait.

8. Clear and cold, wind at No. Wt. Went to a charity Sermon in Christ Church. Alarmed by a cry of fire while there.

9. Clear and very cold, wind in the same place. Went to the Theatre for the first time this Season. The Child of Nature and the Lock & Key were performed.[1]

10. Clear, wind westerly, or rather Southerly and moderating.

11. Wind at No. Et. Sprinkling of Snow in the Morning and raining soberly afterwards.

12. Clear and pleasant all day. Wind at So. Wt. Al the Diplomatic Corps (except France) dined with me.

13. Wind still Southerly. Exercised on horseback on the River Delaware crossing to Cowpers Tavern and recrossing below.

14. Wind Southerly. Morng. very heavy with rain from Noon. Company dined with 5 Gentn.

15. Wind at So. Wt., mild and pleasant.

16. Wind westerly with sunshine and clouds alternately thro' ye day.

17. Clear with the wind at No. Wt.

18. Snowing until abt. 11 Oclock then clear and pleast. Wind at So. Wt.

[1] At the New Theatre. Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser* stated that these two comedies were presented by special request.

19. Wind Westerly, and clear and cold.

20. Wind at No. Wt. colder than yesterday, clear until evening then cloudy.

21. Three or 4 Inches of Snow fell last Night, cloudy all day. Wind at No. Et. large compy. dined here.

	Mercury in the morning
22. Several Inches of Snow fell last Night, variable weather with wind at No. Et.	26
23. Wind at So. Wt. and thawing. Small compy dined here	21
24. Wind in the same quarter and thawing fast. Went to the Pantheon[1] in the evening.	26
25. Wind more easterly, clearer and somewhat cooler, lar: company dined here	24
26. Wind Northerly then So. Westerly. Clear; large Compa. dined	24
27. Wind Southerly, thawing fast	30
28. Do Do Do Rain last Night	42
29. But little wind, dull and variable weather, misting	34

[1] The Pantheon, or Ricketts's Amphitheatre, had been established first in 1792 by John Bill Ricketts, a riding-master. In 1797 he was located at Sixth and Chestnut Streets. The performance was one that naturally interested Washington, consisting of bareback and fancy riding. On January 26th, Washington sold to Ricketts a white horse named Jack, for $150. Ricketts was burned out in 1799 and ruined.

	Mercury in the morning
30. Clear, and somewhat cooler than yesterday &ca.	28
31. Snowing in the Morning and raining the remainder of the day or rather misting. Wind at No. Et.	42 [*sic*]

FEBRUARY

1. Wind No. Easterly in the Morning, So. Westerly afterwards and raining more or less all day. Mercury at 34 in the Morning.

2. A good deal of rain fell last [night]. Cloudy morning but clear and very pleasant afterwards. Wind westerly. Mercury 42.

3. Much such a day as yesterday but rather cooler. Wind same place. Mer. 30.

4. Wind at So. West. Weather pleasant. Mercury at 32 in the morning.

5. Clear and pleasant with Wind Westerly. Mery. 28 Morn.

6. Fine Rain most part of the day. Wind So. Wt. Mer. 48. Went to the Play of Collumbus in the evening.[1]

7. Clear and cool. Wind at No. Wt. Mercury 34 in the Morn.

[1] The play, *Columbus*, an historical drama, was presented 'by particular desire.' The prologue was delivered by Mr. Thomas Wignell, and the play was followed by the comedy *Barnaby Brittle, or a Wife at her Wit's End.*

8. Clear and pleasant but cool. Wind Westerly. Mercury at 26.

9. Cloudy all day. Wind Southerly. Mercury 34.

10. Morning Rainy and stormy afterwards. Wind at So. Wt. Mercury at 50 in the Morng.

11. Clear after the morning and wind westerly. Mer: 35.

12. Clear and pleasant. Wind Westerly. Mercury at 35.

13. Cloudy morning, and fine rain all day afterwards. Wind Easterly. Mery: 38.

14. Fine Rain. Wind in the same quarter. Mercury 38.

15. Cloudy forenoon with flakes of Snow, clear afterwards. Wind Westerly. Mercury 34. large Compy.

16. Clear and pleasant. Wind Westerly. Mercury at 28. large company dined here.

17. Wind still Westerly. Cloudy forenoon and rainy afternoon and Night. Mercury at 38. A very crowded drawing Room.

18. heavy morning and variable all day. Wind West. Mercury at 30. one third of the Pennsylvania Ho. of Representatives dined here.

19. Clear, Wind Westerly in the Morning but cloudy afterwards. Mer: 30. Went to church.

20. Cloudy with a little rain in the afternoon, variable

afterwards. Wind So. West. Mercury 39; another third of the Penna. Reps. dined here.

21. Wind westerly and remarkably pleasant in the forenoon but lowering afterwards. Mery. at 30.

22. Rain in the Night, cloudy forenoon with the Wind at East, afterwards at S.W. clear and very fine, went in the evening to an elegant entertmt. given on my birth night.[1] Mery. 38.

23. Clear and pleasant forenoon. Wind brisk at So. Wt. lowerg. aftds. W. at So. Et. Mer. 36. The last third of the Pennsa. Assembly dined with me.

24. Rain fell last Night and a little this Morng. Cloudy until afternoon. Wind Westerly. Mery. 50.

25. Wind pretty fresh from the No. W and cool with lowering clouds toward evening. Mercury 32.

26. Clear and cold all day. Wind at No. Wt. and Mercury 19. All the Military and Naval Officers dined with me yesterd. Mercury at 19 degs.

27. Wind at So. Et. and lowering but no fall. Mer: 36. Went to the Theatre in the Evening.[2]

[1] Given at Ricketts's Amphitheatre. Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser* stated that the ball given on this, the last birthday of the President that would be spent in Philadelphia, 'for Splendor, Taste and Elegance, was, perhaps, never excelled by any similar entertainment in the United States.' Baker (*Washington after the Revolution*, p. 341) quotes from James Iredell's letter to Mrs. Iredell: 'At the Amphitheatre at night it is supposed there was at least 1200 persons. The show was a very brilliant one, but such scrambling to go to supper that there was some danger of being squeezed to death. The Vice President handed in Mrs. Washington, and the President immediately followed. The applause with which they were received is indescribable. The same was shown on their return from supper. The music added greatly to the interest of the scene. The President staid till between 12 and 1.'

[2] At the New Theatre the play was a new comedy, *The Way to get Married*,

28. Wind variable and grt. appearances all day of Snow. Mer. 35. Went to Mrs. Grattons [1] concer[t] in the Evening.

MARCH

1. Mercury at 24. Wind Westerly and cold all day.

2. Wind as yesterday, cloudy, cold and Raw all day, towards night it began to Snow.[2] Mercury at 26.

3. Mercury at 34. Morning very lowering and threateng. but clear and pleasant afterwards. Wind fresh from the So. Wt.

4. Much such a day as yesterday in all respects.[3] Mercury at 41.

5. Not unlike the two preceeding days. M: at 50.

after which a comic ballet was presented: *Dermot and Kathleen, or Animal Magnetism.*

[1] Mrs. Gratton's concerts were, apparently, a feature among Philadelphia's amusements as Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser* carried notices of postponements, etc.

[2] 'Gave to the Church 5 Guineas.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*) On this day Washington wrote to Knox: 'As early in next week as I can make arrangements for it, I shall commence my journey for Mount Vernon. Tomorrow at dinner I shall, as a servant of the public, take leave of the President elect, of the foreign characters, heads of departments &ca., and the day following, with pleasure, I shall witness the inauguration of my successor to the chair of government.'

[3] Baker's *Washington after the Revolution* (p. 345) appropriately quotes, at this point, from John Adams's letter to his wife (March 5, 1797): 'Your dearest friend never had a more trying day than yesterday. A solemn scene it was indeed, and it was made affecting to me by the presence of the General, whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day. He seemed to me to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him say, "Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be happiest!" When the ceremony was over, he came and made me a visit, and cordially congratulated me, and wished my administration might be happy, successful and honourable. . . . In the chamber of the House of Representatives was a multitude as great as the space could contain, and I believe scarcely a dry eye but Washington's.'

6. The Wind Shifted to the No. Wt. and turned Cold. M: 24.

7. A hard No. Wt. [wind] all day, hard frost this morning and but little [sun?] all day, snowing at times. Mer. at 24.

8 Very thick morning with sprinkling Rain, clear afterwards with a brisk So. Westerly wind. Mer 52.[1]

9. Wind changed to No. Wt. blew very hard and turned very cold. Mer: at 28 left Phila. on my return to mt. Vernon,[2] dined at Chester and lodged at Wilmington.

10. Dined and lodged at Elkton, tolerably pleasant all day.

11. Snowing from daylight until 10 Oclock; in the afternoon a little rain. Breakfasted at Susquehanna, dined and lodged at Hartford.

12. lowering, but tolerably pleasant, breakfasted at Websters. Dined and lodged in Baltimore. Met and escorted into town by a great concourse of people.[3]

[1] The day before Washington left Philadelphia for Mount Vernon, he gave his old steward, Frederick Kitts, a gratuity of twenty guineas and distributed thirteen guineas to the men-servants of the President's house.

[2] The party consisted of the General and Mrs. Washington, Eleanor Parke Custis, George Washington Lafayette, and Felix Frestal, his tutor. An interesting document of this period is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, in the form of an inventory, seven folio pages in length, entirely in Washington's handwriting, showing the furniture, household articles, etc., belonging to the President and distinguishing those furnished by the United States and those furnished by Washington.

[3] The news report states that he was greeted by Captain Hollingsworth's troop of horse, 'who escorted him in through as great a concourse of people as Baltimore ever witnessed. On alighting at the Fountain Inn, the General was saluted with reiterated and thundering huzzas from the spectators.' (Baker, *Washington after the Revolution*, p. 346.) The Mayor and City Council delivered an Address, the original of which is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

13. Breakfasted at Spurriers and dined and lodged in Bladensburgh. Morning lowered but clear afterwards.

14. Dined at Mr. Laws and lodged at Mr. Thos. Peters, day warm.

15. Recd. the Compliments of the Citizens of George Town [1] as I had done the day before of those of the City of Washington, stopped in Alexa.[2] and got to Mt. V. to dinner.

16. At home all day alone. Wind at East and very Cloudy all day.

17. Wind in the same place with rain from 10 oclock— until 12, clear afterwards.

18. Clear with wind fresh from So. Wt. in the forenoon and at No. Wt. in the afternoon.

[1] There is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, an Address delivered to Washington by the President and Professors of Georgetown College and also one from the citizens of Alexandria.

'Yesterday George Washington (God bless him) passed through the city on his way to Mount Vernon. When he reached the Capitol the company of Artillery, under the command of Captain Hoban, welcomed him by a discharge of cannon. After dining in the City, he was escorted to George Town by several of our most respectable Citizens. As he passed the President's house, a salute of 16 guns was fired by the said company and followed by repeated huzzas, dictated by hearts sensibly alive to his merits.' (*The Washington Gazette*, March 15, 1797.) 'Expenses in the Fed. City £3. 2. 4.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[2] 'A number of the Inhabitants of this town and its Vicinity wish to have the pleasure of meeting you on your entrance into the State and escorting you to Mt. Vernon. As they flatter themselves that this token of their sincere affection and esteem will not meet your disapprobation they have despatched the bearer to request you will let them know at what time you will probably cross the ferry that they may regulate themselves accordingly.' (*From John Fitzgerald and James Craik, Alexandria, March* 13, 1797.) In the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. 'Exp. at Union Tavn. £5. 1. 6.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

19. Wind at No. Wt. and fresh; after the morning continuing so all day and cold.

20. Cool in the morning with the wind still at No. W. but very moderate afternoon.

21. Wind Southerly and fresh all day, clear.

22. Wind still Southerly and fresh with appearances of Rain. In the afternoon wind came out brisk at N.W.

23. Cool in the morning but clear and very pleasant afterwards with but little Wd.

24. Wind at So. Et. with Rain more or less all day.

25. Wind for the most part Southerly, and clear.

26. Wind varying from No. Et. to So. Et. and blowing very fresh.

27. A little rain fell last Night. Wind Southerly in the Morning and violently all day afterwards and night from No. Wt.

Omitted to enter the Acct. of the Weather and occurrences the remainder of this month.

APRIL

Omitted keeping any Acct. of the Weather and Occurrences in this Month.[1]

[1] From this point to the end of the year the weather record, although kept by Washington, is omitted from this printed text.

MAY

1. Went to Alexandria to settle some matters at the Bank.[1]

5. Went to Alexa. on business [2] retd. in the afternoon.

JUNE

22. Began Wheat harvest at Union and Dogue R. Farms.

JULY

17 Went up to the Fedl. City.

18. In the City all day.

19. Went by the bridge [3] at the little falls to the Gt. Falls and returned home in the afternoon.

AUGUST

1. Mr. Bolling and Mr. L. Washington of King George came here.

2. B. and W. went away.

4. Mr. Peake and Maj. Evelin dined here.

5. Doctr. Stuart and daughter Nancy came here.

[1] While in Alexandria he paid $47.87 duties on goods from Liverpool and received $100 dividend on stock of the Bank of Alexandria.

[2] 'Dinner &c at Gadsbys 15/.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*) On May 8th, Washington visited Georgetown. 'Exps. to Geo Town with carriage £14. 6.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[3] 'By toll over the Bridge at Potomac River 1*s* 3*d*. By Exps at the G. Falls 30*s*. By Do at Morses Tavern 1*s* 10*d*.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

7. Dr. Stuart and daughter returned home. I went to the annual meeting of the Potk. Co. at Georgetown.[1] Dined at the Union Tavern and lodged at Mr. Thos. Peter's.

8. Returned home to dinner.

10. Miss Fanny Henley came.

12. Genl. Lee, Lady and daughter came.

14. General L. &ca. [*sic*] went away and Mr. Bourne [2] and Mr. Lear came. Mr. Bourne and Mr. Lear went away and Mr. Ferd: Fairfax came.

15. Mr. Fairfax went away.

17. Went with the family to Alexa. Dined with Mr. Potts. Doctr. Stuart came home with us in the evening.

18. Doctr. Stuart went away.

23. Mr. Richd. Randolph and Mr. Carter Beverly came to dinner and Captn. Blackburn and lady in the Afternoon.

24. The latter Gentn. and lady went away after breakfast and the former after dinner.

25. Mr. Wilson and Mrs. Ramsay, Mr. and Mrs. Potts and two daughters dined here.

[1] 'Expenses to George Town and back again to attending a meeting of Potomac Co. £1. 16. 3.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[2] Sylvanus Bourne, a merchant and politician of Barnstable, Massachusetts. He was entrusted with the official notification to John Adams of his election as Vice-President of the United States. Later he served, for some years, as United States Consul at Amsterdam.

26. Mrs. Washington dined here; in the afternoon Genl. and Mrs. Spotswood [1] and Miss Thornton came.

29. Mr. Bushd. Washington, Mr. Fieldg. Lewis and Wife and Miss Dade dined here and went away afterwards.

30. Ludwell Lee, Esq. and Lady and Miss Armistead dined here.

31. Genl. Spotswoods family and ours dined with Mr. Ludwell Lee [2] and Mr. Nichs. Fitzhugh and his wife came here to dinner and Mr. Lawe. Lewis in the evening.

SEPTEMBER

3. Mr. and Mrs. Fitzhugh went away after breakfast and Mr. Lear came to dinner.

4. Genl. Spotswood and family went away after breakfast.

7. Dined with all the family at Mr. Willm. Wilsons and returned in the Even.

10. Mr. Jno. Bassett, wife and 3 Children came here to Dinner.

11. Col. Sam. Griffin and lady came to dinner.

12. Col. Otway Byrd,[3] Doctr. Barraud came to Dinr. and Mr. Saml. Washington [4] in the Afternoon.

[1] General Alexander Spotswood; he married a daughter of William Augustine Washington, niece of George Washington.

[2] At Lee's estate at Shooter's Hill, near Alexandria.

[3] Otway Byrd had acted as aide-de-camp to Major-General Charles Lee, during the Revolution.

[4] 'Lent my nephew Mr. Samuel Washington the sum of $1000.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

13. All the company went away after breakfast.

16. Mr. Lear came to dinner.

17. Mr. Lear went away after breakfast.

19. Mr. Geo. Lee of Loudoun dined here.

24. Went to Church in Alexa.

25. Went to Alexandria on business.

26. The Attorney Genl. Lee and Lady and Mrs. Edmund Lee dined here.

27. Mr. H. Peake and a Romh. Priest, Mr. Caffray [1] dind here.

28. Mr. Edmd. Lee, Mr. Scudder, Doctr. English [2] and brother dined here.

29. Colo. Gilpin and Mr. Hartshorne dined here.

30. Mr. Carter,[3] of Shirley and Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham [4] came to Dinner.

OCTOBER

2. Mr. Carter and Mr. Fitzhugh went away and Mr. Washington and Mr. Foot came to dinr. and returned afterwards.

[1] The Reverend Anthony Caffray, or Caffry, the first pastor of Saint Patrick's Church, Washington, D.C.

[2] Dr. John T. English (?), of Boston.

[3] Charles Carter, of 'Shirley,' on the James River.

[4] William Fitzhugh. 'Chatham' was on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg.

3. Doctr. Stuart came here to Dinner. Washington Custis came home.

4. Mr. B. Bassett and Mrs. Dunbar and Mr. McCarty came to dinner, the latter returned afterwards.

5. Mr. Bassett and Mrs. Dunbar wt. away after breakfast.

7. Mr. La Colombe [1] and a Doctr. Flood came here to Dinner, the last returned. Mr. T. Peter and Mrs. Peter came in the Afternoon.

8. Mrs. Stuart and two of her daughters came to dinner as did Mr. Lear. Mr. La Tombe went away.

9. Mr. Lear and Mr. Peter went away.

11. Mrs. Stuart and Daughters and Mrs. Peters went away after breakfast.

12. Mr. G. W. La Fayette and Mr. Frestal [2] left this for Geo. Town to take the Stage for New York to embark for France. I accompanied them to the Fedl. City.

13. I returned home to dinner. a Captn. Huie [3] dined here and went away afterwards.

[1] Lewis Lacolombe, a merchant, of the firm of Lacolombe, Cadigan & Co. Either he, or his brother, was an aide to Lafayette in France. Washington later (entry for October 8th, *q.v.*) confused him with Philip Joseph de L'Etombe, the French Consul at Philadelphia, who had acted in that capacity at Boston during the latter part of the Revolutionary War.

[2] George Washington Lafayette, son of the Marquis, and his tutor, Felix Frestal. 'Gave Mr. G. W. La Fayette a check on the Bank of Alexandria for the purpose of defraying his expenses to France $300.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*) Young Lafayette had come to America in 1795. Diplomatic reasons prevented Washington from receiving him. As soon, however, as the Presidential term was over, Washington took him into his family and he remained at Mount Vernon until the above date.

[3] Possibly Captain James Huie, a Dumfries merchant, of the firm of Smith, Huie, Alexander & Co.

14. Mr. McDonald and Mr. Rich,[1] Brith. Com. came to dinner. Christopher set out for Lebanon.[2]

15. Mr. Potts and Mr. Keith dined here and returned.

16. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Rich went away after breakfast. Mrs. Nichols and Mr. Nichols and Wife and Doctr. Stuart came to Din. The 3 first returned after it.

17. Doctr. Stuart went away after breakfast. Mr. Law and Cap: Turner came in the aftern.

18. Mr. Law and Cap. Turner went away after breakfast and Mr. Geo. Calvert came to Dinnr.

21. Mr. Calvert went away after breakfast.

22. Mr. Potts and Wife and Mr. Smith and Wife and Mr. Lear dined here.

23. Went with the family to dine with Mr. Potts in Alexandria.

24. Spanish Minister [3] and Mr. Barry came to dinner.

25. The above Gentelmn. went away after breakfast. Mrs. Craik and two sons and Mr. and Mrs. Harrison came to dinner.

[1] Thomas McDonald and Henry Pye Rich, British commissioners for liquidating the claims of British creditors, under the Jay Treaty.

[2] 'Gave my servant Christopher to bear his expenses to a person in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, celebrated for curing persons bitten by mad animals $25.' (*Cash Memorandum Book*, October 18th, *Toner Transcript*.) The person celebrated for such cures was Dr. Henry William Stoy. He does not seem to have used any 'quack' methods. An account of him and his work is to be found in the *Lebanon Historical Society Papers*, vol. 1, No. 16, p. 336. The thrifty Christopher traveled to Lebanon, and, on his return, handed Washington twelve dollars back; whether Stoy helped his ailment, or not, does not appear.

[3] Don Carlos Martinez de Yrujo.

27. Mrs. Crk. &ca. went away before dinner.

29. Doctr. Stuart came to dinner.

30. Doctr. Stuart went away after breakfast. Mr. Cottineau [1] and Lady, Mr. Rosseau [2] and Lady, the visct. D'Orleans [3] and Mr. De Colbert came to Dinner and returned to Alexa. afterwards. A Mr. Stockton [4] from N: Jerseys came in the afternoon.

31. Mr. Stockton went away after breakfast and Mr. Ford and Lady and a Mr. Richards came to dinner and proceeded on their Journey to So. Cara. afterwards.

NOVEMBER

2. Mr. Tomson Mason and Lady and Mrs. Nichols dined here.

10. Dr. Keith and a Mrs. Forest came to dinner and stayed all night.

11. Mr. Keith &ca. went away and Mrs. Ratcliff and son came to Dinner.

13. The British Envoy, Mr. Liston and his Lady, Mr. Marchant [5] and his lady and her son, Mr. Brown and Mr. Athill,[6] Speaker of the Assembly of Antigua came to Din-

[1] Captain Denis Nicholas Cottineau de Kloguene, captain of the *U.S.S. Pallas*, with John Paul Jones's famous squadron.

[2] Jean Rosseau, a volunteer on the *Bonhomme Richard.*

[3] Vicomte d'Orléans, possibly a son of Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, who had assisted John Paul Jones's naval activities in Europe during our Revolutionary War.

[4] Richard Stockton (?), son of Richard, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

[5] Henry Marchant (?), of Rhode Island.

[6] John (?) Athill.

ner as did a Doctr. Pinckard, this last went away afterwards.

14. Mrs. Ramsay, Mr. and Mrs. Potts and Mr. Wilson, Mr. Harrison and Da[ughte]r and Son dined here. In the afternoon Majr. Pinckney [1] and Lady arrived.

16. All the Compy. above mentd. went away and Mr. B. Bassett came to dinner and a Mr. Augs. Woodward [2] came in the Evening.

19. Mr. White came.

20. Mr. White went away and I went to Alexandria and returned.[3]

21. A Mr. Lister [4] introduced by Mr. Robt. Morris came here, dined and returned.

23. Mr. Bassett and Fanny Henley went away.

24. A Mr. Welch [5] from Greenbrier dined here.

25. Mr. Russel came here abt. 9 Oclock A.M.

26. Mr. Russel went away after breakfast. Mr. Lear came to dinner and Mr. and Mrs. Law at Night.

[1] Major Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina.

[2] Woodward was from the Ohio country, and to him Washington paid taxes on some of his Kanawha and Ohio lands.

[3] August 22. 'To cash Recd. from the Bank of Alexa. on the 20th inst $500.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[4] Daniel Lister. Morris's letter of introduction, dated November 6th, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] James Welch wished to lease Washington's land on the Great Kanawha. He made an offer November 29th, but the business was not concluded until December 18th. (See diary entry for the latter date.) The various papers in the negotiation are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[DECEMBER]

2. Doctr. Fendall [1] came in the afternoon.

6. Mrs. Forbes [2] our Housekeeper arrived here this day.

7. Doctr. Fendall went away and Doctr. Stuart came.

9. Mr. Law and family and Doc. Stuart went away after breakfast and Mr. Welch came to Dinner and returned afterwards.

10. Mr. Burwell came to dinner.

11. Mr. Burwell went away after breakfast and a son of Colo. D. Henley came to dinner.

12. Mr. Henley went up to Alexa. Revd. Mr. Fairfax dined here.

13. Mr. Lear dined here and Mr. Lawe. Lewis returned.

17. Genl. Huntington [3] came to dinner.

18. Went up to Alexa. and finished my business w. Mr. Welch.

19. Genl. Huntington went away after breakfast.

20. Doctr. Stuart came to Dinn[er].

21. Doctr. Stuart went away after breakfast.

[1] A dentist. On December 7th, Washington paid him sixty dollars.

[2] Mrs. Forbes acted in this capacity until Washington's death and was present when he died.

[3] Brigadier-General Jedidiah Huntington, of Connecticut. After the war he married, for the second time, a sister of Bishop Moore, of Virginia.

25. Mr. W. Dandridge came.[1]

26. Mr. Dandridge went away.

27. Mr. Lear and Mr. W. Dandridge came to dinner.

28. Mr. Lear went away after breakfast. Began to fill my Ice house.

30. Mrs. Washington came here and Mr. Wm. Dandridge to do business for me in the way of writing.

[1] 'By cash paid Mr. Wm. Dandridge for Garden seeds purchased for me at George Town £3. 0. 3. Maryld. Cy. £2. 8. 0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book. Toner Transcript.*)

1798

January 1–December 31

Original in the possession of Charles Moran, Jr., New York City. It was presented by Bushrod Washington to Mrs. Margaret Adams, of Philadelphia, in 1827, and came to Charles Moran, Jr., by inheritance. The text here given is from an exact, certified copy, made in 1888, for Dr. J. M. Toner, forming this portion (January 1–December 31, 1798) of the Toner *Transcript of the Diary of George Washington.*

1798

REMARKS IN JANUARY

1. Much rain fell last night and a thick fog with Southerly wind continued all the forenoon, clear afterwards.

2. A Mr. Elliot came to dinner, and stayed all Night.

3. Mrs. L. Washington and Mr. Elliot went away after breakfast, and Mrs. Washington, myself, &ca. went to Alexandria and dined with Mr. Fitzhugh.

5. A Mr. Fisk who came here on Wednesday evening went away this morning.

8. A Mr. Marshall, Music Master, came here, tuned Nelly Custis's Harpsicord and returned after dinner.

11. Mr. Lear dined here and returned.

14. Mr. Lewis Burwell came to dinner and Mr. Woodward in the evening.

15. Mr. Burwell and Mr. Woodward went away, and I went to Alexandria [1] to a meeting of the Stockholders of that Bank to an Election of Directors.

20. Mr. G. W. Craik [2] came here to dinner.

[1] While in Alexandria, Washington stopped at John Gadsby's. Under January 18th in Toner's copy of Washington's Cash Memorandum Book, is an entry 'Gadsbury's Tavern Bill 15*s*. 7*d*.' The old City Hotel, on the corner of Cameron and Royal Streets, had been added to and the name changed in 1792 to Gadsby's Hotel. It is still standing.

[2] George Washington Craik, son of Dr. James Craik; he was, for a time, secretary to Washington.

23. Mr. Howell Lewis [1] came to Dinner.

24. Mr. Jno. Hopkins and Mr. Hodgden came to dinner.

25. Mess. Hopkins and Hodgden went away after Breakfast.

28. Mr. Craik and Mr. Howell Lewis went away after breakfast.

FEBRUARY

1. A Mr. Lad [2] and a Mr. Gibbes from Rhode Island dined here and returned to Alexandria.

3. A Mr. Adamson from Hamburgh and Doctr. Stuart came to Dinner.

4. Mr. Adamson went away after breakfast, and Mr. Craik and Mr. Marshall came to dinner. The latter returned after it.

5. Doctr. Stuart went away after breakfast.

7. Went to a meetg. of the Potomack Co. in George Town.[3] Dined at Colo. Fitzgerald's and lodged at Mr. T. Peters.[4]

[1] Howell Lewis, Washington's nephew, son of his sister Betty.

[2] John G. Ladd.

[3] By 1798 the affairs of the Potomac Company had become greatly involved. The funds were exhausted and the President (then Tobias Lear) and the directors borrowed six thousand dollars on their personal notes in an effort to continue operations. This February meeting issued a call for a general meeting in August, at which it was voted to assess each shareholder one hundred dollars per share. This amount could not be collected, and from this date the inevitable failure of the company, as a business enterprise, became increasingly evident.

[4] Thomas Peter, a merchant of Washington and Georgetown. His house was on the south side of K Street, N.W., in the 2600 block. After 1800, he removed to

8. Visited the Public buildgs. in the Morng. met the Compy. at the Union Tavern [1] and dined there. Lodged as before.

9. Returned home to Dinner. Found Mr. Geo. Calvert here.

10. Mr. Calvert left this after breakfast.

12. Went with the family to a Ball in Alexa. given by the Citizens of it and its vicinity in commemmoration of the anniversary of my birthday.[2]

13. Returned home to dinner.

14. Mr. Alexr. Spotswood and wife and Mr. Fieldg. Lewis and Mr. Lear came to dinner. The latter returned afterwards.

15. Mr. Fieldg. Lewis went away after dinner.

16. Mr. and Mrs. Spotswood left us after breakfast.

18. Doctr. Stuart came in the evening.

19. Doctr. Stuart went away after Breakfast.

Georgetown and built 'Tudor Place' (Thirty-first Street between Q and R Streets), which is an example of the architectural beauty of the period. Peter married Martha Parke Custis, sister of 'Nellie' Custis.

[1] Union Tavern, Georgetown.

[2] The citizens of Alexandria adhered to the 'old style' calendar under which Washington was born and under which his birthday was February 11, 1732. England adopted the Gregorian Calendar in 1752, and in that year eleven days were dropped out in September to make the 'old style' calendar agree with the new or Gregorian. As a result of this change, Washington's birthday in 1753 and since has come on February 22d instead of February 11th. (February 11, 1798, fell on Sunday, so the celebration was postponed a day.)

MARCH

3. Mr. G. W. Craik dined here and returned.

4. Doctr. Stuart came to dinner.

5. Doctr. Stuart left this, to accompany Washington Custis to St. Johns College at Annapolis. Messrs. Bonne and Lawrence [1] from New York and young Hartshorn [2] dined here and retd.

6. Doctr. Craik dined here and went away afterwards.

8. Colo. Heth,[3] Colo. Fitzgerald and Mr. Paller dined here. The two last left it after dinner.

9. Colo. Heath went away after breakfast.

10. Ludwell and Geo. Lee, Esqrs., and Mr. Robt. Beverly dined here and returned; and Mr. and Mrs. Peter and Nelly Custis came after dinner.

11. Colo. Ball and Doctr. Stuart came to Dinner.

12. Colo. Ball and Dr. Stuart went away after Bt.

13. Mr. Peter went away after break.

17. Mr. Snow of Massachusetts dined here and returned to Alexa.

18. Mr. Steer, Senr., and Junr., Miss Steer and Mrs.

[1] These names are not in the New York Directory for 1798.

[2] Son of William Hartshorne.

[3] Colonel William Heth. He had been a lieutenant in Daniel Morgan's Riflemen, was afterwards colonel of the Third Virginia Regiment, was taken prisoner at Charleston, 1780, and remained a prisoner until the end of the war.

Vanhaven dined here and returned to Alexa. afterwards. Mr. Peter came in the afternoon.

19. Dined with Mrs. Washington, &ca. at Mr. Thomson Mason's.[1]

20. Mr. Lawe. Washington of Chotanck and Mr. Lawe. Washington of Belmont came to Dinner. Albin Rawlins[2] came to live with me as Clerk.

21. Mr. L. Washington [of] Belmt. went away.

23. Mr. L. Washington of Chotanck and Mr. Peter went away after breakfast.

25. Mr. Nichols[3] and wife and Mr. Lear and family dined here. Mr. Peter returned.

27. Mr. Charles Carroll, Jun.[4] and Mr. Willm. Lee came to dinner.

28. Mr. Carroll and Mr. Lee went away after breakfast and the family here went to dine with Mr. Nichols.

30. Doctr. Flood[5] dined here.

[1] 'Hallin Hall,' to the west of Tobias Lear's house, about midway between that and Humphrey Peake's on Little Hunting Creek.

[2] Albin Rawlins, of Hanover County, Virginia, applied for the position by a letter of January 26, 1798, which is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. He was called into the sick-room in Washington's last illness and, at the General's request bled him.

[3] James B. Nicholls.

[4] This visit of young Carroll gave rise to talk in Annapolis that he was paying his addresses to Eleanor (Nelly) Parke Custis. George Washington Parke Custis, then a student at Saint Johns College at Annapolis, wrote to his uncle approving the match. Washington's reply was sufficiently pointed to put a stop to such rumor. (Baker, *Washington after the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 357, *note.*)

[5] William P. Flood (?)

31. A Mr. Fevot,[1] a French Gentleman recomd. by Count de Rochambeau, dined here, and a Mr. Freeman,[2] Member in Congress from N: Hamp., came in the afternoon and returned.

APRIL

1. Mr. Law,[3] a Mr. Taylor, Lieutt. Walton of the Navy, and young Mr. Barry,[4] came to dinner and Chas. Alexander, Junr., came at Night.

2. Mr. Law and the Gentlemen who came with him left this about noon.

4. Mr. Alexander went away after breakfast.

8. Cap. John Spotswood and Mr. Lear came to dinner. The last went away after it.

9. Mr. Peter went away after breakfast, leaving Mrs. Peter behind him.

12. Mr. Peter ret[urned].

13. Genl. Lee came to dinner and Colo. Heath and son in the afternn.

14. Genl. Lee and Colo. Heath went away after breakfast and Dr. Stuart came to D[inner].

[1] Ferdinand Fevot, of Berne, Switzerland. He considered that he had not been properly treated at Mount Vernon and wrote a somewhat peevish letter to Washington, after he left.

[2] Jonathan Freeman.

[3] Thomas Law, a wealthy and somewhat eccentric Englishman, brother of Lord Ellenborough, who had been the Attorney-General of Great Britain and later became Lord Chief Justice. He came to America in 1794 and settled in Washington City. He married Eliza Parke Custis; but the match was an unfortunate one.

[4] David, son of James Barry, of Washington.

15. Mrs. Fitzhugh and her daughters and son came in the afternoon.

16. Doctr. Stuart went away. I went to Alexa. to an Election of Delegates [1] for the Cty. of Fairfax. Voted for Messrs. West and Jno. Herbert; [2] returned to Dinner. Mr. Fitzhugh came in the Afternoon.

17. A very severe frost, ground hard frozen. Ice sufficient to bear. Fruit supposed to be all killed, leaves of trees [frost] bit &ca.

18. Peaches not killed and hoped other fruit not hurt. Points of the New Moon upwards. Mr. Fitzhugh and family left this after breakfast. Began to plant corn at Union farm.

20. Mr. Peter went away after breakfast and Mr. Townshend Dade and Mr. Nichs. Fitzhugh came to Din[ner].

21. Mr. Dade and Mr. Fitzh. went away after breakf.

22. Doctr. Craik came on a Visit to Eleanor Peter.

23. Mr. Peter returned — sent for.

24. Doctr. Craik came in the afternoon to visit Mr. Peter's Children.

25. Doctr. went away after breakfast.

26. The Revd. Mr. Fairfax and Doctr. Craik (to visit

[1] To the Virginia Assembly.

[2] Roger West and John Carlyle Herbert. West was elected but Herbert failed. Augustine J. Smith was elected with West.

Mr. Peter's children) came to dinner. The first returned afterwards.

27. Doctr. Craik went away after breakfast, and Mr. and Mrs. Law and a Mr. Ghan, a Swedish Gentleman came to dinner.

29. Mr. Ghan wt. away after breakfast.

30. Mr. Law and Mr. Peter went away after breakfast, and Doctr. and Mrs. Craik and Son, Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, and Mrs. Jenifer and a Miss Barnes came to dinner and returned afterwards.

MAY

2. Mr. Law returned to dinr.

4. Mr. and Mrs. Law went away after breakfast, and Nelly Custis went up to Hope Park.[1]

6. A Mr. Tayler and a Mr. Crips, introduced by Mr. Potts, dined here, as did Mr. T. Peter and Mr. Lear. All except Mr. Peter went away after dinner.

8. Mr. Peter, Mrs. Peter and their children left this, and the Revd. Mr. Lewis from Connecticut came in the Afternoon.

9. Mr. Lewis went away after breakfast. I went to the Proclamn. Sermon [2] in Alexandria.

[1] Five miles northwest of Fairfax Court-House, the residence of Dr. David Stuart, Nelly Custis's father-in-law.

[2] In expectation of a war with France, President John Adams (March 23d) had proclaimed May 9th a day of fasting and prayer. The Reverend William Linn preached the sermon, and, later, sent Washington a printed copy of it from New York.

13. Mr. White [1] and Doctr. Craik dined here. The latter went away after dinr.

14. Mr. White left this after breakfast.

18. Horns, or points of the Moon upwards.

19. About 8 Oclock in the forenoon Mrs. Washington and myself sat out on a visit to Hope Park and the Federal City. Got to the former to Dinner and remained there until Morning when we proceeded to the City. Dined at Mr. Thos. Peter's and remained there until Wednesday,[2] and then went to Mr. Laws and remained there until friday when we sat out on our return home and called at Mount Eagle to take our leave of the Revd. Mr. Fairfax, who was on the point of Embarking for England.

25. Mrs. Peak's fam: dined here.

27. Mr. Lear dined here.

29. Went up to Alexa. on business and returned home to dinner.

30. About 5 oclock Colo. Morris, Lady and 4 Children came here after dinner.

31. Colo. Morris and family left this after breakfast, and Mr. Herbert and Son, the Revd. Mr. Addison, a Mr. Rogers of Baltimore, Mr. Delivs. of Bremen and a Mr. Pekmoller of Hamburgh dined here and returned afterwards.

[1] Alexander White, one of the Commissioners of the Federal City.

[2] Wednesday, 23d of May. Washington was at Peter's from Sunday, 20th, to Wednesday, 23d.

JUNE

1. Mr. Hartshorne [1] and Mr. Lear dined here.

2. Mr. Law and a Polish Gentleman,[2] the Companion of General Kosciaski [3] came here to dinner, as did Miss Lee of Greenspring, with Nelly Custis, who returnd to day.

3. Mrs. Law came down to dinner, and Mr. and Mrs. McClanahan dined here, and returned afterwds.

6. Mr. Law went away this morning and Dr. Stuart, Mrs. Stuart and three daughters came to breakfast and dinner.

10. Doctr. Stuart returned and Mr. Lear dined here.

11. Mr. Tracy [4] came in the evening.

12. Mr. Law returned in the Evening.

13. Mr. Fitzhugh, Lady and daughter, Mrs. Beverly Randolph, with her daughter and Son-in-Law Randolph and his Sister, dined here.

14. Mrs. Stuart and her family and Mr. Law, Mrs. Law, and Mr. Niemcewitz (the Polish Gentn.) went away after breakfast.

15. Mrs. Lund Washington dined here.

17. Mr. [ ] [5] sent by Mr. Pearce [6] to attend my Cradlers in harvest arrived.

[1] William Hartshorne.

[2] Julien Niemcewitz. (See entry for June 14, *post.*)

[3] Thaddeus Kosciuszko, colonel of Engineers in the Continental Army.

[4] Thomas Tracy, music-master for Eleanor Parke Custis.

[5] 'July 16. By cash paid Mr. Jno. Coslay for superintending my cradlers in Harvtg. and instructing them to catch the grain $81\frac{81}{100}$' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[6] William Pearce, manager of the Mount Vernon farms, 1793–96.

21. Mr. Lear and Mr. Tracy dined here, the first returned afterwards.

22. Mr. Tracy went away [after] dinner.

26. Mr. Law and two French Gentn., viz. Mr. La Guin and Mr. Clarmont [dined here?]

28. Colo. Simm dined here.

JULY

1. Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham and Doctr. Welford dined here, as did Dr. Field

3. Mrs. Fairfax, her Sister, daughter and widow Price, Mrs. [ ], Mr. Ferdd. Fairfax and Lady, and Mr. Jno. Herbert [1] and his two Sisters, dined here and returned.

4. Went up to the Celebration of the Anniversary of Independance and dined in the Spring Gardens near Alexa. with a large Compa. of the Civil and Military of Fairfax County.[2]

6. Doctors Thornton [3] and Dolson, Mr. Ludwell Lee, Lady and Miss Armistead, and Mr. David Randolph and a

[1] John Carlyle Herbert.

[2] Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, July 19, 1798, gives an account of this celebration. It is quoted at length in Baker, *Washington after the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 361. Washington's Cash Memorandum Book (Toner copy) gives his expenses at Alexandria 'at the Anniversary of Independence' as £1.4.0.

[3] Dr. William Thornton, a scientist, was born in the West Indies. He had some architectural talent and influenced the design of the United States Capitol building. He was appointed by Washington one of the Commissioners of the Federal City and became the first United States Commissioner of Patents. He is credited with persuading the British not to burn the Patent Office in 1814.

Son of Colo. R. Kidder Mead [1] came here to Dinner. The last two proceeded to Alexa. afterwards.

7. Mr. R. Bland Lee and Mr. Hodgden came here to dinner and Mr. Ludwell Lee and Lady went away after Din[ner].

8. Mr. Lee and Miss Portia Lee, Mr. Hodgden, and Doctr. Stuart, who came in the afternoon of yesterday, went away after breakfast; and Mr. and Mrs. Potts,[2] Miss Fitzhugh, Mrs. Conway, Miss Brown, Mr. Wm. Wilson, Mr. Wm. Ramsay and Mr. Lear came to Dinner and returned.

10. Doctr. Craik, Wife and Son, a Mr. Craig of Alexa., and Mrs. Hunter of Baltimore, Mr. Jno. Herbert, Mr. de Bourg,[3] Presid. of the College at George Town, another of the Professors and two of the Studts. viz. a son of Mr. Law's and a Neph. of Barry's [4] dined here, and all retd.

11. Mr. Fitzhugh and his oldest daughter dined here. He went away afterwards and Mr. McHenry, Secty. of War, came in the evening.[5]

[1] Richard Kidder Meade; he had been an aide to Washington during the greater part of the Revolutionary War.

[2] Mr. and Mrs. John Potts.

[3] Father Dubourg; he was, later, Roman Catholic Bishop of New Orleans.

[4] Captain James Barry.

[5] James McHenry. He brought to Washington President John Adams's commission (dated July 4, 1798), which had been approved by the Senate, appointing him Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised, in the war expected with France. Washington accepted the appointment in a letter of July 13th to President Adams, which McHenry carried back with him on the 14th. In it he succinctly rehearsed the conduct of the Directory of France that forced America into preparations for war and expressed his willingness to act, with the reservation, however, that he would not be called into the field until the army required his presence or circumstances demanded it. The commission is preserved among the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

12. The following Compy. dined here: Colos. Fitzgerald and Simms, Mr. Herbert and Son, Doctr. Craik and Son, Mr. L. Lee, Col. Ramsay, Cap. Young and Lt. Jones, Mr. Potts, Wm. Wilson, Mr. Porter, Doctr. Cook, Mr. Riddle, Mr. Lear, Mr. Tracy, and six Ladies and 4 Gentn. from Mr. Rogers.

14. The Secty. of War left this after dinner.

15. Mr. Law dined here and returned afterwds.

17. Mr. and Mrs. Fitzhugh, and their younger daughter and son, and Mr. Lear came to dinner; the last retd. after.

18. Mr. Fitzhugh and all his family went away after dinner.

19. Miss Digges and her niece Miss Carroll dined here.

20. Went up to Alexa. with Mrs. W. and Miss Cus[tis], dined at Doctr. Craik's, retd. in ye aftn.

22. Mr. [and] Mrs. Dalton, and their two daughters, came here to dinner.

23. Mr. Lear came in the Mg., stayed all day.

24. Doctr. Stuart and Mr. Geo. Graham dined here. The last went away afterwards.

25. This family and Mr. Daltons dined with Mr. Lee.

26. Mr. Herbert, wife, 2 daughters, son, and Mr. and Mrs. Whiting dined here, as did the Count Inznar and Mr. Merchant. All went aw[ay].

29. Doctr. Craik dined h[ere].

31. Mr. L. Washington, Mr. Foot and a Majr. Parker dined here and returned.

AUGUST

2. Mr. Lear dined here and Mrs. Washington of Bushfield and her G. daughter, Ann Washn., came in the Afternn.

5. Washn. Custis came home fm. College.

6. Went to Alexa. to a meeting of the Poto. Co.[1] Mr. Bur: Bassett came home with me.

7. Mr. Lear and the boys dined here and with Mr. Bassett went afterwards.

9. Doctr. Stuart came to dinner.

10. Mr. and Mrs. Thornton and Jno. Herbert and G. W. Craik came to dinner, the two last returned.

11. Genl. and Mrs. and Miss Spotswood[2] and two younger daughters came in the afternoon.

14. Mr. Booker[3] came in the afternn.

15. Mr. and Mrs. Ludwell and Miss Armistead and Mr. Fielding Lewis dined here and returned.

17. Mr. Tracy came in the Morng. and Mr. Harper at Night.

[1] See diary entry and note for February 7, 1798, *ante*.

[2] General Alexander Spotswood.

[3] William Booker, of Richmond. He built a threshing machine for the River Farm at a cost of fifty dollars.

18. Mr. Tracy went away after dinner and Mr. Booker in the Morng.

19. Colo. Simms and lady, and Mr. Herbert and Son dined here.

20. Mr. Harper went away after Breakfast.

No account kept of the weather, &ca. from hence to the end of the Month, on acct. of my Sickness which commenced with a fever on the 19th and lasted until the 24th. which left me debilitated.[1]

On the 28th there was a very refreshing Rain, but not sufft. to go to the Roots of Indian Corn which was suffering very much for want of it.

SEPTEMBER

2. Mr. White came to dinner.

3. In the Morning to breakfast came Genl. Marshall and Mr. Bushrod Washington, and to dinner the Atty. Genl., Chas. Lee, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Keith, and Doc. Craik. The last went away.

4. In the Afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Parks [2] of Fredericksburg came here.

5. Genl. Marshall and Mr. B. Washington went to a dinner in Alexa. given to the former by the Citizens there,[3] and returned.

[1] Probably an attack of malarial fever as it yielded to Dr. Craik's treatment with 'Jesuit's bark,' as quinine was then called.

[2] Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Parks (Harriot, Washington's niece). Andrew Parks was a native of Fredericksburg and not, as usually stated, a Baltimorean.

[3] One of a series of complimentary public demonstrations with which the people of the United States expressed their approval of the course taken by John Marshall and his fellow envoys as envoy of the United States in France, 1797–98, in what is known as the 'X Y Z Affair.'

6. Mr. Marshall and Mr. B. Washington went away before breakfast. Mr. Wm. Craik came to Breakfast and returned afterwards, and Mr. Jno. Herbert and Mr. Robt. Burwell came to dinner. The latter returned after it; the former stayed all Night.

7. Mr. Herbert went away after dinner.

8. Mr. and Mrs. Parks left this after breakfast.

13. Mrs. Fairfax and daughter, Miss Dennison and a Mrs. Tibbles dined here.

15. Mr. White came to dinner.

16. Doctr. Stuart and Doctr. Craik came to dinner; day warm.

17. Mr. White and the Doctors went away this morning.

19. Doctr. Craik came in the Morning to visit Mr. L. Lewis and stayed all day and Night.

20. Went up to the Federal City. Dined and lodged at Mr. Thos. Peter's.

21. Examined in company with the Comrs. some of the Lots in the Vicinity of the Capital and fixed upon No. 16 in 634 to build on.[1] Dined and lodged at Mrs. Law's.[2]

[1] Lot No. 16, Square 634, was on the west side of North Capitol Street between B and C Streets, about the middle of the block. Washington was to pay $535.71 for it in three annual installments, the first of which was paid in 1798. George Blagdin was the builder of the two adjoining houses erected thereon for Washington. The building contract and the specifications, the latter written by Dr. William Thornton, are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The houses remained standing until they were torn down about 1908 to increase the area of the Capitol grounds.

[2] Mrs. Thomas Law, Mrs. Washington's granddaughter. This house was on

22. Came home with Mr. T. Peter wife and 2 Children to Dinner.

23. Mr. and Mrs. Nichols and his brother and Mr. Swanwick[1] dined here.

25. Mr. Geo. Steptoe Washington, who came to dinner yesterday, returned to day, and Mr. Peter set off for New Kent.

26. Mr. Tracy came here to dinner.

27. Mr. Jno. Herbert came to dinner, and a Major Simons of Charleston in the afternn.

28. Majr. Simons went away in the Morning and Mr. Herbert and Mr. Tracy in the afternoon.

30. Went to Church in Alexa.

OCTOBER

4. Mr. Jno. Herbert, and Mr. G. W. Craik dined here and returnd, and Cap. Jno. Spotswood came in the evening.

5. Doctr. Thornton, Mr. Law, and a Mr. Baldo, a Spanish Gentleman from the Havanna, came to Dinner.

6. Mr. Bushrod Washington and Captn. Blackburn came to dinner, and Mr. Thos. Peter returned in the afternoon from New Kent.

the northeast corner of New Jersey Avenue and C Street, S.E. It was later owned and occupied by Joseph Holt, and was torn down to make room for the United States House of Representatives Office Building.

[1] John Swanwick.

7. Mr. B. Washington and Captn. Blackburn went away after Breakft.

10. 9th, 10th and eleventh, absent in the Federal City. Mr. Welch [1] and Mr. Tracy came in the afternoon.

12. Mr. Welch and Mr. Tracy went away in the Forenoon, and Mr. Wm. Craik came to dinner.

13. Genl. Lee, Captn. Presley Thornton, and Mr. T. Peters came to dinner.

14. Genl. Lee and Captn. Thornton went away after breakfast, and Mr. Booker came at Night.

16. The Attorney Genl. of the United States Lee [2] and Lady and Mr. Wm. Craik dined here and retd.

17. Mr. Law, a Mr. David Barry and a Mr. Shedden came to dinner and staid the Night.

18. Mr. Law [3] and his Company went away after breakfast.

24. Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Peak and Doctor Stuart dined here. The two first went away afterwards.

[1] James Welch, of Rockingham County, Virginia. He claimed that he could dispose of a part of 99,995 acres of land on Elk River, Randolph County, Virginia, which Washington held in trust, and wished to exchange certain lands to which he held title for the necessary portion of the 99,995 acres.

[2] Charles Lee.

[3] On October 24, 1794, is an entry in Washington's Cash Memorandum Book (Toner copy): 'By a check on the Bank of Alexa. in favor of Thomas Law Esq. amount of a subscription of mine of five shares towards building a Hotel for one William Tunnicliff in the City of Washington — which Mr. Laws promises to see secured $250.' This hotel was built on the southwest corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Ninth Street, S.E., and was called 'The Eastern Branch Hotel.' A portion of the original building is still standing.

25. Doctr. Stuart and Mr. Booker went away after breakfast.

26. Mr. and Mrs. Law, with Govr. Crawford [1] (late of Bermuda) and Lady came to dinner.

28. The Atty. Genl. U. S., Mr. Jno. Hopkins and Mr. Chs. F. Mercer dined here and returned.

29. Mr. and Mrs. Law, Mr. and Mrs. Peter, and Govr. Crawford and lady, all went after breakfast.

31. Doctr. Craik visited Patients at Union farm and dined here.

NOVEMBER

2. Mr. Law, Mr. Hasler of Demarara [2] and Lady came to dinner.

4. Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. David Randolph and Mr. Alexr. White came to dinner, and the first two went away afterwards. Mr. Hasler and Lady went away after breakfast and Mrs. Law came at Night.

5. Mr. White went away before breakfast. I set out on a journey to Phila. about 9 o'clock with Mr. Lear,[3] my Secretary. Was met at the Turnpike by a party of horse and escorted to the Ferry at George Town, where I was recd. with Military honors: Lodged at Mr. T. Peter's.

6. Breakfasted at Bladensburgh, dined and lodged at Spurrier's. Escorted by horse.

[1] Governor James Crauford (or Crawford) was Governor of Bermuda in 1793.

[2] Demerara, British Guiana, South America.

[3] Washington requested Lear to resume his old position as secretary, as soon as he was appointed Lieutenant-General.

7. Breakfasted at Baltimore, dined at Webster's and lodged at Hartford. Met at Spurrier's by the Baltimore horse and escorted in and out by the same. Viewed a Brigade of Militia at Balto.

8. Breakfasted at Susquehanna, escorted by the Hartford horse; dined at Elkton and lodged at Christiana bridge.

9. Breakfasted in Wilmington and dined and lodged at Chester, wait'g at the latter the Return of an Exps. At this place was met by sevl. Troops of Phila. horse.

10. With this Escort I arrived in the City about 9 o'clock and was recd. by Genl. McPherson's Blues [1] and was escorted to my lodgings in 8th Street (Mrs. White's [2]) by them and the Horse.

11, 12, and 13. dined at my Lodgings receiving many Visits.

14. Dined at Majr. Jackson's.[3]

15. Dined at Mr. Tench Francis's.[4]

16. Dined at the Secrety. of the Trea'y.[5]

17. Do. at Mr. Willing's.[6]

[1] Brigadier-General William Macpherson. (See note to diary entry of October 10, 1794, *ante*.) The Macpherson Blues were one of the popular militia organizations of the time.

[2] Mrs. Rosannah White, a widow, who kept a boarding-house at 9 North Eighth Street. Baker (*Washington after the Revolution*) notes this from the 1798 Philadelphia Directory.

[3] Major William Jackson's, 187 South Third Street. Baker (*Washington after the Revolution*) takes this and the following addresses from the 1798 Philadelphia Directory.

[4] Tench Francis's, Market Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth. (*Baker.*)

[5] Oliver Wolcott's, 91 Spruce Street. (*Baker.*)

[6] Thomas Willings's, 100 South Third Street. (*Baker.*)

18. Do. at my lodgings.

19. Do. at Doctr. White's — Bishop.[1]

20. Dined at the Secretary of War's.[2]

21. Dined at Majr. Reed's [3] Senator's.

22. Dined at Mr. Bingham's.[4]

23. Ditto at Mr. Saml. Meridith's, Treasurer.[5]

24. Ditto at the Secretary of State's.[6]

25. Ditto at my lodgings.

26. Dined at the President's of the U: States.[7]

27. Dined in a family with Mr. Morris.[8]

28. Dined with Judge Peters.[9]

29. Do. with the British Minister.[10]

30. Do. with the Govr. of the State, Govr. Mifflin.[11]

[1] Bishop William White's, 89 Walnut Street. (*Baker.*)
[2] James McHenry's, 113 South Third Street. (*Baker.*)
[3] Jacob Read, of South Carolina, corner of Eleventh and Chestnut Streets. (*Baker.*)
[4] William Bingham's, South Third Street, near Spruce.
[5] Meredith's, 171 Chestnut Street.
[6] Timothy Pickering's, corner of Sixth and Arch Streets.
[7] John Adams's, 190 High Street (now Market Street). This was the same house that had been occupied by Washington when, as President of the United States, he lived in Philadelphia. (*Baker.*)
[8] Robert Morris was then in the debtors' prison. The debtors' apartment, of the old Walnut Street Prison was on the north side of what is now Locust Street, east of Sixth. The prison was torn down in 1836. (*Baker*, p. 373, *note.*)
[9] Richard Peters, 85 Walnut Street.
[10] Robert Liston, 217 Arch Street.
[11] Thomas Mifflin, 250 High Street.

DECEMBER

1. Dined with Mr. Rawle.[1]

2. Ditto with Bingham.
From hence until my leaving the City on the

13. I dined at my lodgings.

14. After dinner set out on my journey home. Reached Chester.

15. Breakfasted at Wilmington, bated at Christiana, and dined and lodged at Elkton.

16. Set out after a very early breakfast; and was detained at Susquehanna from 10 o'clock until the next morning, partly by Ice and Winds, but principally by the Lowness of the tides occasioned by the No. Westerly Winds.

17. Breakfasted at Barney's,[2] bated at Hartford. Dined at Webster's and lodged at Baltimore.

18. Breakfasted at Spurrier's, dined at Rhodes's,[3] and lodged at Mr. Laws in the Federal City.

19. Stopped at Doctr. Thornton's [4] and Mr. Peter's and dined at home.

24. Doctr. Craik came to D[inner] and Judge Cushing

[1] William Rawle, 260 High Street.
[2] John H. Barney's, Havre de Grace, Maryland.
[3] This, possibly, was the name of the then proprietor of the inn at Bladensburg.
[4] Dr. Thornton lived at 1331 F Street, N.W. He had moved from Georgetown, where his house was on M Street, just west of Thirty-Second Street, in 1797.

and lady in the Afternoon, as did a Mr. Dinsmorr,[1] Agent in the Cherokee Country, on his way to Philadelphia with a Mr [ ].

25. Genl. Pinckney,[2] Lady and daughter came to dinner, and Captain Jno. Spotswood in the Afternoon.

28. Genl. Pinckney, Lady and daughter left this after breakfast.

The following Gentlemen dined here the 27th., viz. Messrs. Wm. Fitzhugh, Wm. Herbert, Potts, Wilson, Doctr. Craik and Son, Geo: Washington Craik, Heath and Doctr. Greenhow of Richmond.

31. Calm and pleasant, thawing Mer. higher than yesterday.

[1] Silas Dinsmore, temporary agent to the Cherokees.
[2] Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

1799

January 1—21

The pages containing these entries were torn from the original many years ago. Their present whereabouts are unknown. See title-page for No. 57, *post*.

1799

January 22–December 13

Original in the Library of Congress. Several pages, containing the entries January 1–February 9 and October 13–23, are missing, having been torn from the volume. The text for these entries (January 22–February 9 and October 13–23) is taken from a carefully compared copy by Toner, made in 1892, from the originals. These Toner copies bear the following notes: 'These three pages (Jan. 22–Feb. 9) are from the original in the Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The volume of this diary has been mutilated and is still deficient by a page or two. *J. M. T.*'; and 'One leaf recording the occurrences from October 13th to 23d inclusive has been torn out and is missing.' [*J. M. T.*] This original leaf is in the Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and bears the following note: 'This leaf from the diary of General Washington was given to me by Mr. Sparks, the editor of his correspondence, on the 22d February, 1832, the centennary of his birth. *Robert Gilmor.*' The whereabouts of the pages containing the entries January 1–21 is unknown.

1799

JANUARY

22. Clear morning. Mer. at 30 wind from the Southward. Lowering afternoon and likely for rain — turning warm.

23. Mr. Bushrod Washington came to dinner.

25. Doctr. Stuart and family and Mr. Bushd. Washn. went away after breakfast.

31. Clear morning. Mer. at 33 and wind at No. Wt. afterwards calm and remarkably pleasant.

FEBRUARY

1. Brisk southerly Wind all day and towards Noon lowering with appearances of rain. Mer. 44 at Night

5. Wind at No. Et. Mer. at 28 and commenced Snowing about 7 oclock, left off about Noon. grd. Slightly covered.

7. Doctr. Thorn[ton] and Masr. Turner [1] came to dinner.

8. Mr. Thos. Digges [2] dined here and returned. Mr. Tracy came to dinner.

9. Thornton and Turner went away abt. Noon.[3]

[1] Master Thomas Turner, otherwise Thomas Turner, Jr., of Fairfax County.

[2] Of Warburton, Maryland.

[3] See note on title-page for this year's diary (1799, January 22–December 13, Regents of Mount Vernon No. 57), *ante*.

FEBRUARY

10. Wind shifted in the night to N.W. blew fresh and turned cold — Mer. at 30 in the morning and 34 at Night — clear all day.

11. Went up to Alexandria to the celebration of my birth-day. Many Manoeuvres were performed by the Uniform Corps, and an elegant Ball and Supper at Night.

12. Wind Westerly and day clear and pleasant. Returned home. Mr. N. Fitzhugh [1] and brother and Mr. Hen. Wash.[2] came to dinnr.

16. Mr. and Mrs. Peters came to dinner.

18. Mrs. Stuart and her 3 daughters came here in the afternoon.

20. Morning very thick and Misting; wind Easterly. Mer. at 30 Morng. and Evening with rain at Intervals through the day. Doctr. Baynham [3] dined here.

21. Mr. Chs. Carter, wife and daughter came to dinner, and Mr. Robt. Lewis in the afternoon.

22. Morning raining. Mer at 30. Wind a little more to the Northward. Afterwards very strong from the No. Wt. and turning clear and cold. The Revd. Mr. Davis [4] and Mr.

[1] Nicholas Fitzhugh. In 1803 he purchased Washington's Charles County, Maryland, land at $5.50 per acre.

[2] Probably a son of John Washington, who married his cousin Catherine Washington.

[3] Dr. William Baynham, of Essex County, Virginia.

[4] The Reverend Thomas Davis, who performed the wedding ceremony of Lawrence Lewis and Eleanor Parke Custis. Washington's Cash Memorandum Book (Toner copy) contains an entry for February 26th: 'By cash paid Ricd. Barnie for Services at the wedding of E. C. $20.'

Geo. Calvert came to dinner and Miss Custis was married abt. Candle light to Mr. Lawe. Lewis.

23. Mr. Davis retd. after dinner.

25. River nearly closed with ice. Mr. L. Lee, Mrs. Lee and Miss French, Mr. Herbert,[1] Mr. Jno. Herbert, and Miss Herbert, Doctr. Craik and Mr. G. W. Craik, Miss Fitzhugh, Miss Moly Fitzhugh and Miss Chew and Colo. Fitzgerald dined here and returned.

26. Mrs. Potts, Mrs. Fendall, Mr. Andw. Ramsay and wife, Mr. Wm. Ramsay, Mr. Edmd. Lee and Sister Lucy, and Mr. Hodgden,[2] dined here and returned, and Mr. Bushrod Washington came in the afternoon.

27. Mr. Thomson Mason and Wife and Mr. Nicholls[3] and Wife dined here and returned.

MARCH

1. Snowing fast. Mer at 30. More or less Snow through the day with the wind, though but little of it at No. Et. Snow 6 In: deep.

3. Mrs. Stuart and her 3 daughters (Stuarts), and Mr. and Mrs. Peters went away after breakfast.

4. Clear, hard frost. Mer. at 24 and Wind at No. Wt. at which it continued all day and very cold. Mr. and Mrs. Carter went away after Breakfast.

5. Wind still at No. Wt. and Mer. at 8 in the Morning

[1] February 28. 'By Cash paid Mr. William Herbert for 4 Setts of Belknaps Biography subscribed for by me $14.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner copy.*)

[2] William Hodgden, of Alexandria.

[3] James B. Nicholls, of Alexandria.

and 17 at Night. River almost closed with Ice. Clear all day. Mr. Lawe. Lewis and Wife went up to the Fedl. City.

6. Mr. and Mrs. Law went away to day.

8. Mr. Mrs. and Miss Carter returned this afternoon.

9. Major Pinckney [1] came in the Evening.

10. Mr. Carter and family and Major Pinckney left this after breakfast, and young Mr. Barry,[2] with a Spanish officer, a Mr. O'Higgens,[3] came to dinner and returned afterwards.

16. A Mr. Boyd and his Brother from Boston dind. here.

23. Mr. and Mrs. Lawe. Lewis returned from the Federal City.

24. Mr. Robt. Stith came to dinner and stayed all N[ight].

25. Doctr. Craik and Mr. Foot [4] dined here and returned in the afternoon.

26. Mr. Stith went away after breakfast.

29. Mr. Burwell Bassett came in the Evening.

31. Mr. Bassett went away after breakfast.

[1] Major Thomas Pinckney. [2] David Barry.

[3] It is possible that this was a Captain Thomas O'Higgins, of the Spanish Navy.

[4] Joseph (?) Foot, of Frederick County.

APRIL

3. Extreme cold (but forgot to see what the Mercury was) Wind very high from the No. Wt. and continued so all day. Went up to Four Mile Run to Run round my land there.[1] Got on the grd. about 10 oclock, and in Company with Captn. Terret[2] and Mr. Luke commenced the Survey on 4 Mile Run and ran agreeably to the Notes taken. In the evening went to Alexa. and lodged myself at Mr. Fitzhugh's.

4. Recommenced to Survey at the upper end where we left off, in company with Colo. Little,[3] Captn. Terret and Mr. Willm. Adams, and contd. it agreeably to the Notes until we came to 4 Mile run again, which employed us until dark. Returned to Alexa. and again lodged at Mr. Fitzhugh's.

5. Returned home to Breakfast.[4]

6. Mr. White the Fedl. Commr. came to dinner, and Colo. Ball after dinner.

8. Colo. Ball and Mr. White went away after breakfast.

9. Mrs. Washington of H:[5] came.

11. Mr. Foot dined here and with Mrs. Washington returned home in the afternoon.

[1] See entry and note under 1786, May 5, *ante*.

[2] William Henry Terret, of Fairfax.

[3] Colonel Charles Little.

[4] April 5. 'By expenses in running round my land on Four Mile Run viz. Bill at Gadsbys £2.14 Chain Carriages £1.4 Servants &c 15s.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner copy.*)

[5] Mrs. Lund Washington, who had been Elizabeth Foot. 'Hayfield,' Lund Washington's place, about five miles from Alexandria and the same distance from Mount Vernon, was on the old stage-road between Alexandria and Colchester.

12. Doctr. Wade came this Aftn. Spread Plaster of Paris this Morning on the circle and sides before the door, and on the Lawn to the Cross Path betwn. the Garden gates, and on the Clover by the stable.

17. Jno. Tayloe,[1] Esqr. and Mr. Jno. Herbert came here to dinner.

18. Mr. Tayloe and Mr. Jno. Herbert went away after breakfast.

20. Mer. at 32. Wind still fresh from No. Wt. and having blown (it is believed) throu the Night, it is hoped the fruit has escaped, altho' there[2] Ice had formed. Mrs. Washington of Hayfield, Genl. O'Donald,[3] Mr. Barry, Mr. Oliver, Mr. Thompson[4] and a Doctr. [ ] dined here and returned.

21. A. B. Heppesley Coxe, Esqr., recommd. by Mr. Bingham,[5] came here to dinnr.

22. Mr. Coxe went awy. after breakfast, and Mrs. Vanstapherst[6] came to dinner, and Doctr. Craik to see Mr. Lear afterwards.

23. Doctr. Craik went away before breakfast, and a Majr. Jones, a British Officer, came to dinner and Mr. George Peter at Night.

[1] John Tayloe, of Mount Airy, Virginia. He was a man of wealth and a lover of race-horses. He owned practically all of what is now Petworth in Washington, D.C., and its name then was Tayloe's 'Petworth Farm.' He built the 'Octagon House' in Washington.

[2] The proper reading is, 'altho' the Ice had formed.' Washington corrected his manuscript here, but forgot to strike out the *re* in *there*.

[3] Meant for O'Higgins? (See entry and note for March 10, *ante*.)

[4] Jonah Thompson, of Fairfax.

[5] William Bingham, of Philadelphia.

[6] Probably one of the firm of Nicholas & Jacob Van Staphorst, Amsterdam merchants.

24. Gentlemen who came yesterday went away after breakfast, and I went up to Alexa. to an Election of a Representative from the District to Congress and from the County to the State Legislature.[1]

25. Doctr. Stuart came to dinner.

26. Doctr. Stuart went away after breakfast, and Mr. and Mrs. Law. Lewis came from Hope Park in the Afternoon.

28. Doctr. Craik and a Mr. Halsted dined here and returned.

29. Went up to run around my land on 4 Mile run.[2] Lodged at Colo. Little's.[3]

30. Engaged in the same business as yesterday and returned home in the Afternoon. Morning clear and fine. Wind Easterly. Afterwards fresh from the Southward clouded up and between 2 and 3 began to Rain contd. to do so steadily until I went to bed. Mer. then at 50.

MAY

4. Messrs. Wm. and Washington [Craik] and a Mr. Jeffries dined here and returned.

6. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis set out on their journey.

9. Genl. Lee, Messrs. Rd. B. Lee and Wm. Ludwell Lee,

[1] Richard Bland Lee and Thomas Swann were elected to the State Legislature, and Henry Lee as United States Representative in Congress.

[2] '30th By Exps. Surveying my Land 4 Mile run $2.25 By Exps. at Gadsby's Tavern Alexa. 9s.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner copy.*) This land had been trespassed upon and Washington marked out the bounds to obviate this nuisance.

[3] Colonel Charles Little, then resident at 'Cleesh.'

Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. Page and Mr. T. Turner, dined here and returned in the Evening.

10. Mr. Thos. Digges and Mr. Jas. Welch dined here and retd.

11. Doctr. Stuart came to dinner and a Mr. Small afterwards; both stayed all Night.

12. Doctr. Stuart went away after Breakfast and Mr. Short [1] after dinner. Mr. White came to dinner.

13. Mr. White went away before breakfast.

4. Majr. Wm. Harrison [2] came here to dinner.

15. Mr. Thomson Mason came here to breakfast and attended Majr. Harrison and me on the Survey of the latter's land, and both dined here, as did a Mr. Season.[3]

16. Went up to Alexandria to the Purse Race, and returned in the Evening. Mr. Law and Doctr. Thornton here.

18. A Mr. Boies and Lady from Boston dined here and returned to Alexa.

19. Mr. Peake, Miss Eaglin, and a Mr. Brent dined here and went away afterwards, as did Mr. Law and Doc. Thornton.

[1] Mr. Small, or Mr. Short. (See entry for preceding day.) Washington was approximately right whichever the name was.

[2] Major William B. Harrison, of Leesburg, Virginia.

[3] John Searson, formerly a merchant in Philadelphia, who failed and removed to England. He issued poetic effusions of some length and slight merit; one of these, descriptive of Mount Vernon, was published in Philadelphia in 1799, under the title: 'Mount Vernon, A Poem.'

20. A Mr. Hancock from Boston and a Mr. Smith from Portsmouth dined here.

21. Mr. Fitzhugh and two daughters, Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Turner, Messrs. W. and Washington Craik, and Mr. Jno. Herbert dined here. The last and Mr. Turner's family stayed the Night.

22. Mr., Mrs. and Miss Turner and Mr. Herbert went away after breakfast.

23. Mr. Thos. Adams, third son to the President,[1] and Mr. Joshua Johnson, Lady and son came to dinr.

24. Colo. Ball came to breakfast and went away after dinner. Mr. T. Peter and Mrs. Peter and young Powell came to dinner.

25. All the Company, except Mr. and Mrs. Peter, went away after breakfast.

26. Mr. and Mrs. Peter went away after breakfast. Mr. and Mrs. Nichols came to dinner, and Majr. Geo. Lewis and Doctr. Welford came in the afternoon.

27. Captn. Presley Thornton and Lady came to dinner, as did Mr. Lear.

28. All the strangers went away after breakfast.

31. Went up to the Fedl. City. Dined and lodged with Mr. Peter.

[1] John Adams.

JUNE

1. Dined and lodged at Mr. Law's.

2. Returned home to dinner, takg. Church at Alexa. in my way. Found Doctr. Stuart here.

3. Doctr. Stuart went away after Breakfast.

5. A Mr. Chs. Newbold from New Jersey dined here and went away afterwds.

9. Mr. Alexa. White came to dinner.

10. Mr. Page and Mr. Seldon dined here and went away afterwds.

11. Bishop Carroll,[1] Mr. Digges and his Sister Carroll, Mr. Pye and Doctr. Craik all dined here.

13. Mrs. and Miss Fairfax and Miss Denison dined here.

15. Captn. Geo. S. Washington [2] and Mr. Robt. Lewis came in the Afternoon.

16. Doctr. and Mrs. Stuart and their 3 daughters came here to dinner.

17. Captn. Washington and Mr. Lewis went away early this morning, and Dr. Stuart aft. B[reakfast].

[1] Bishop John Carroll, cousin of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, returned to America in 1774, after obtaining his education in Europe. He was one of the Continental Congress Commissioners to Canada in 1776, along with his cousin, Samuel Chase, and Benjamin Franklin. The first American bishopric was established at Baltimore in 1788 and Carroll was made Bishop in 1790.

[2] George Steptoe Washington had received a captain's commission in the Provisional Army.

18. Mrs. Washington came to dinner.

19. Mrs. and Miss Fairfax and Mr. Donaldson, and Mr. Foote came to Dinner, and went away afterwards, as did Mrs. Washington.

20. The following company dined here: Chief Justice of the U.S. Ellsworth, Mr. and Mrs. Steer, Senr., Mr. and Mrs. Steer, Junr., Mr. Van Havre, Mr. and Mrs. Ludwell Lee, Mrs. Corbin Washington,[1] Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, and Miss Cora. Lee,[2] Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Calvert, and a Captn. Hamilton and Lady from the Bahama Islands.

22. Doctr. Stuart's family and Mr. and Mrs. Calvert went away after breakfast.

29. Morning lowering, Wind Southerly and Mer. at 74. A great deal of rain appeared to fall all around us, but none here. Mer. 75 at Night.[3]

[1] Mrs. Corbin Washington; she had been Hannah Lee, daughter of Richard Henry Lee.

[2] Cornelia Lee.

[3] In the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, under date of June 29, 1799, is the following memoranda, which is printed here for the interest it has as the surviving record of one of Washington's last surveys.

[June] '29. Not being able to make Mr. Rawlin's Survey of some of the fields at Dogue Run close, I went out with my Compass this day and surveyed the following fields in the following manr: viz. —

'Began at the centre of the North gate of the Barn yard, and run along the fence between field No. 5 and the Potatoe lot So. 79¼ Et. (4 po. to fence of the yard) 52 po. to the meadow fence; — thence along that, No. 25¼ Et. 66 poles to fence between No. 5 and what is called Davies field. (Note, this course reversed, to the Lane, from the Barn into field No. 4, is just 20 poles.) Thence No. 52½ Wt. 89 poles to the fence between Davies field and No. 6 at the gate. (Note the course of this fence is No. 7¾ Wt.) Thence So. 71¼ Wt. 73 po. to the other fence of No. 6. Thence So. 7¾ Et. (which is also the course of that fence reversed wch. divides No. 6 from No. 7 — the length of it 171) 72 pole to clover lot. Thence along the fence of the same So. 79½ Et. 52 pole (passing the fence of the Barn yard 4 po.) to the center of the fence gate where I began.

'*Lot No.* 3 Beginning at the fence of the Clover lot, on the lane leading into the Wood (and 19¼ pole from the other lane, from the Overseer's house to the

JULY

1. Morning clear. wind fresh from the So. Wt. and Mer at 76–89 at highest and 76 at Night. A fine shower for about 15 minutes abt. 5 oclock and light rain afterwards until bed time 9 oclock. Doctr. Tazewell [1] and Mr. Burwell Bullett came to dinner.

2. Doctr. Tazewell and Mr. Bullett went away in the Morning, and a Captn. Moore from the East Indies, and a Mr. Feal [2] from Phila. came to dinner and returned to Alexa. in the Afternoon.

3. Doctr. Stuart, and a Parson Lattum from Pennsylvania, dined here and left in the afternoon.

4. Went up to Alexa. and dined with a number of the

Barn) and extended No. 79½ Wt. 138 po:, So. 69 Wt 23 po., So. 21½ Et. 80 po. to fence between this lot and No. 2 (from whence a fence across the Mill swamp bears So. 59¾ Et.) Thence along the fence between fields No. 2 and 3 So. 88¼ Et. 129 pole in a line with the meadow fence, 149 po. to Clover lot fence; thence with that fence No. 19¼ Wt. 65 po. to the place of Beginning.

'*Lot No.* 2 Beginning at the meadow fence, where the fence dividing No. 1 from No. 2 joins it at the Bars into Mill swamp and extended along the same N 75¾ Et. 112 poles to the other Meadow fence. Thence along that, and d[ivid]-ing the lane leading into No. 2 No. 13¼ W 64 po to fence between No. 2 and 3. (Note from the end of the last course of the Meadow fence to the Mill road is So. 19¾ Et.) Thence along the fence dividing No. 2 and 3 No. 88¼ Wt. 129 po to Mill Meadow fence. Thence along the same So. 21½ Et poles to the beging. at the Bars leading into the Mill swamp Meadow as mentd. before.

'The course of the fence at this place, which divides the Meadows No. 2 and 3 is the same as that wch. divides the fields No. 1 and 2, viz. — N. 75¾ Et. — reversed — and from thence to the Mill race is 78 po. (and strikes it 9 poles from the middle of the turn) and just 100 pole to the outer Post and Rail fence.

'From the fence at the bars, the fence which divides the Meadows 1 and 2 from field No. 1 runs as follow: So. 21½ Et. 10½ po., So. 38 Et 67½ po. to the fence dividing the Meadows 1 and 2 (which bears So. 45½ W 45 po. to the Mill race), 110 po. to the ditch, 118 to the edge of the Meadow or mowing ground, and 136 po. to fence at the Mill Road. Thence along the Road according to Rawlins to the Meadow by the bridge at Manley's.'

[1] Dr. William Tazewell, of Williamsburg.

[2] Feal's name does not appear in the Philadelphia Directory for 1799.

Citizens there in celebration of the Anniversary of the declaration of American Independe. at Kemps Tavern. [1]

6. Doctors Tazewell and Thornton came in the evening.

7. Mr. Willm. Booker came in the evening.

9. Doctors Thornton and Tazewell went away before breakfast.

10. Mr. and Mrs. Law and a Mr. Dunn came here to dinner.

12. Doctr. Tazewell and Mr. G. W. Craik came here in the afternoon. Mr. Booker went away.[2]

14. The Atty. Genl. Lee and Mr. W. Craik dined here. Doctr. Tazewell went away after dinner.

16. Mr. Dunn left this after breakfast.

17. Colonels Powell and Simms and Mr. Herbert, and Judge Washington, Captn. Blackburn and Mr. H. Turner dined here. The three first went away in the afternoon.

18. Cloudy, with drippings now and then till about 4 oclock, when it commenced a constant Slow rain with the Wind at So. Et. and contd. until I went to bed at 9 oclock. Mer 71 at night. Captn. Blackburn went away after breakfast.

[1] Baker, in *Washington after the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 383, quotes a brief description of the military review on this occasion from Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, July 11th. Kempff's Tavern, kept by Colonel John C. Kempff.

[2] Mr. William Booker had come up from Richmond and built a horse-power grist-mill for Washington at a cost of eighty dollars.

19. Judge Washington and Mr. H. Turner left this after dinner.

20. Mr. Law went away after breakfast.

22. Mr. Law returned this afternoon.

23. Mr. Needham Washington came in the Afternoon.

25. Very little wind, and very warm, but being unwell, no acct. was taken of the Mer; Visited by Doctr. Craik.

26. Doctr. Craik went away after breakft.

30. A Major Riddle (a British Officer), Colo. Fitzgerald, and Mr. James Patton,[1] and Mr. B. Bassett came to Dinner. The first three went away afterwds.

AUGUST

1. Morning clear, wind Southerly and Mer at 74, hot about midday and 72 at Night. A moderate and fine Rain began about 4 oclock and contd. more or less until 6.

2. Captn. Blue [2] of the Amn. Army who came here yesterday to dinner returned to day after breakfast.

4. Doctr. Stuart and his brother Richard and Mr. Foot dined here and returned afterwards.

5. Went up to George Town, to a general meeting of the Potomac Company,[3] dined at the Union Tavern and lodged at Mr. Law's.

[1] James Patton, of the firm of Patton & Dykes, Alexandria.

[2] Captain William K. Blue, of Virginia, Seventh United States Infantry.

[3] This was the last meeting of the Company that Washington attended. Maryland had authorized the Treasurer of the Western Shore to subscribe for 130 shares of the Company, in behalf of the State; but even with this aid matters had reached such a pass that the Company's failure was a foregone conclusion.

6. Returned home to dinner, found Genl. Wm. Washington [1] of So. Carolina and Son here.

7. The following Gentlemen dined here: viz. Colo. Fitzgerald, Doctr. Craik and Son, Mr. Wm. Craik, Mr. Herbert and Son Jno. C. Herbert, Colo. Ramsay, Mr. Potts, Mr. Edmd. Lee, Mr. Keith, Lieut. Keen [2] of the Marines, and Mr. Chas. Fenton Mercer.

8. Genl. Washington and son went away after breakfast, and Doctr. and Mrs. Jenifer came to dinner.

9. Doctr. and Mrs. Jenifer went away after breakfast as did Mrs. Law, Mr. Law havg. left it on Monday last.

15. Mr. Thos. Digges dined here.

16. Young Mr. McCarty dined here.

20. Mer at 69 in the morning. about ½ after 5, it began a fine rain with the wind at No. Et. and continued to do so until near 11 oclock when it ceased, but recommenced about ½ after 3 and contd. raining slow and fine until 9 oclock when I went to bed. Mer 65 at Night.

23. Mr. and Mrs. Law came here to dinner.

24. Mr. White came to dinner, as did 4 Gentlemen from Phila. viz. — young Mr. Meridith (son of the Treasurer), Mr. Clifton,[3] a Mr. Walter,[4] and [ ]. The 4 last returned after dinner.

[1] Colonel William Washington had been commissioned a brigadier-general in the Provisional Army.

[2] Lieutenant Newton Keen.

[3] William Clifton (?), of Swanson Street, Philadelphia.

[4] Peter Walter (?), a merchant, of Philadelphia.

31. Messrs. Wm. and George Craik dined here and returned.

SEPTEMBER

1. Doctr. Craik dined here — sent for to Mrs. Washington who was sick.

3. Mrs. Washn. and her grd. Dr. of Bushfd.[1] and B. Washn. and wife and Dr. Stuart came here.

5. Doctr. Stuart went away after breakfast.

6. Mr. B. W. and wife went [away] after breakfast. Doctr. Craik who was sent for in the Night to Mrs. Washington came early this Morning.

7. Mr. and Mrs. Peter and Genl. Washington came in the afternoon.

8. Morning very heavy and wind at No. Et. and Mer. 68 in the morning and 70 at Night — cloudy all day. Some rain fell last night and a slight sprinkling. Genl. Washington went away after breakfast, and Mr. and Mrs. Law came to dinner.

10. Mrs. Washington and her grand daughter went away after breakfast. Doctr. Stuart came to dinner, and Doctr. Craik (sent for) came in the afternoon.

11. Doctors Craik and Stuart, and Mr. Peter went away after breakfast.

12. Capt. Truxton[2] came to dinner.

[1] Mrs. Hannah Bushrod Washington, the widow of John Washington.

[2] Captain Thomas Truxtun, U.S.N., had a record of unusual privateering

13. Mr. and Mrs. Law went away after breakfast and Doctor Thornton came to dinner.

14. Morning clear. Mer at 72. Wind Westerly through the day and clear.

15. Day omitted through mistake

16. Morning clear, no wind. Mer at 64 at highest 76 and at Night 73, clear and but little wind all day.

17. Doctr. Thornton went away after breakfast and Mr. Thos. Peter and his brother Lieutt. Peter [1] came to Dinner.

18. Mr. George Peter went away after breakft.

20. Mr. Ludwell Lee, and Messrs. Stanton and Parker from the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and a Mr. Hilton dined here and went away afterwards.

21. Mr. Alex. White came to dinner.

23. Mr. White went away after breakfast.

24. Mr. Thos. Peter went away after breakfast.

25. Mrs. and Miss Fairfax and Miss Dennison dined here and returned, and Doctr. Stuart came in the Evening.

27. Governor Davie [2] on his way to the Northward to

activity during the Revolutionary War. He was one of the six captains appointed at the reorganization of the Navy in 1798. Commanded the *U.S.S. Constellation* which captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente* in February, 1799.

[1] Lieutenant George Peter, of the Ninth United States Infantry.

[2] Governor William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina. With Oliver Ells-

Embark as Envoy to France called, dined and proceeded on. Mr. T. Peter came.

29. Doctr. Craik came to dinner on a visit to Mrs. Wash. and stayed all night.

30. Doctr. Craik went away after Break[fast].

OCTOBER

1. Mrs. Fairfax, sister and daughter, and Mrs. Herbert and Mrs. Nelson, Mr. Jno. Herbert and two of Mrs. Washington[1] of Fairfield's Sons dined here. Mrs. Fairfax, etca. went away after dinner, the others remained.

2. After dinner Mrs. Herbert, Mrs. Nelson, etca. went away.

4. Mrs. Peak dined here, and in the Afternoon Colo. Jno. Waker[2] and Mr. Hugh Nelson came here.

7. Mr. Peter went to Geo. Town this Morng.

9. Colo. Walker and Mr. Nelson set out for the City of Washington after breakfast.

10. Mr. T. Peter returned to night.

12. Mr., Mrs. Peter and family went away after breakfast and Mr. Lawe. Lewis and his wife came to dinner.

worth and William Vans Murray, he had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France. The commercial treaty negotiated by them was signed September 30, 1800.

[1] Mrs. Warner Washington, who had been Hannah Fairfax.

[2] John Walker. He had been an aide, for a time, to Washington, during the Revolutionary War.

13. Mr. Lear returned from Berkley.

15. A Mr. Bourdieu of the House of Bourdieu, Chollet, and Bourdieu of London (accompanied by a Mr. Gardner), Mr. Gill and Mr. B. Bassett dined here, the first three went away afterwards.

19. Morning quite clear with a small breeze from the So. Et. Mer at 43. A great circle round the Sun about Noon which contd. for hours and towards Night it began to lower much. Mer 55 at Night.

20. Doctr. Stuart, Wife and three daughters, and young Danl. McCarty came to dinner and stayed all Night.

22. Mr. Liston (British Minister) and lady came to dinner, as did young Mr. McCarty.

23. Mr. Herbert, Mr. and Mrs. Patton, Mr. [ ], Mr. Gilmar came to dinner. The last stayed all Night.[1]

24. Mrs. Swanwick [2] dined here. Mrs. Stuart and family went up to Alex.

25. Mr. and Mrs. Liston, and Mr. Gilmar left this after breakfast, and Mr. Lawe. Washington, Junior, came here at night.

26. Doctr. Stuart and family, and young McCarty returned here to dinner.

27. Doctr. Stuart and family, and Mrs. Lawe. Washington and young McCarty, all went away after breakfast.

[1] See note on title-page for this year's diary (1799, January 22–December 13, Regents of Mount Vernon No. 57), *ante*.

[2] Mrs. John Swanwick.

28. A Mr. Ridout an English Gentleman and his Lady dined here, as did Mr. G. W. Craik. Mr. Lear set out for Harper's Ferry to make some arrangement with Colo. Parker [1] respecting Cantoning the Troops.

29. Colo. Griffen, Mr. Law and a Mr. Valangin [2] (an Engh. Gentleman introduced by Mr. Barthw. Dandridge). The latter went away afterwards.

31. Colo. Griffin and Mr. Law went away after breakfast, and Mr. William Craik came here in the Afternn.

NOVEMBER

1. Mr. Craik went away after Breakfast.

2. Mr. Jno. Fairfax (formerly an Overseer of mine) came here before dinner and stayed all Night.

3. Mr. Valangen came to dinner.

4. A Mr. Teakle from Accomack County dined here and returned, as did Doctr. Craik. Mr. Lear returned here from Berkeley.

5. Set out on a trip to Difficult-Run to view some Land I had there and some belonging to Mr. Jno. Gill, who had offered it to me in discharge of Rent which he was owing me. Dined at Mr. Nicholas Fitzhugh's and lodged at Mr. Corbin Washington's.

6. Set out from thence after 8 Oclk. being detained by sprinkling Rain, and Much appearance of it until that

[1] Colonel Alexander Parker, Fifth United States Infantry.
[2] Charles W. Valangin, of London. He came to the United States to live.

hour. Reached Wiley's Tavern, near Difficult Bridge, to Breakfast, and then proceeded to Survey my own Land — the day clearing and the weather becoming pleasant.

7. Weather remarkably fine finished Surveying my own Tract and the Land belonging to Gill, returning, as the Night before, to Wiley's Tavern.

8. Morning very heavy and about 9 Oclock it commenced Raining which it continued to do steadily through the day. Notwithstanding which I proceed[ed] to ascertain by actual measurement the qualities. This being finished betwn. 12 and 1 oclock I returned to Wiley's Tavern and stayed there the remainder of the day.[1]

9. Morning and the whole day clear, warm and pleasant. Set out a little after 8 oclock, viewed my building in the Fedl. City, dined at Mr. Law's and lodged at Mr. Thos. Peter's.

10. Returned home about Noon. Mr. Law, Mr. Barry, Mr. White and Doctr. Thornton came to Dinner, and stayed all Night.

11. The Gentlemen above mentioned went away after breakft.

14. Mr. Valangen came to dinner and stayed all Night.

15. Rode to visit Mr. now Lord Fairfax,[2] who was just got home from a Trip to England. Retd. to dinner.

[1] November 10. 'By expences to difficult, for the purpose of surveying my land lying thereon — and the lot offered me by Mr. Gill in payment of Rent viz — Tavern Bill at Wyles $20. Chain carriers $5. Servants going & coming &c. $4. Crossing & Recrossing the Potomack and Tavern Bill at Georgetown $2.' (*Cash Memorandum Book, Toner Transcript.*)

[2] Bryan Fairfax.

16. Doctr. Craik came here in the afternoon on a visit to sick people.

17. Went to Church in Alexandria and dined with Mr. Fitzhugh. On my return fd. young Mr. McCarty here on his way back from the Federal City. Young McCarty came to Dinr.

20. Mr. McCarty went away after breakfast, and Mrs. Summers, Midwife for Mrs. Lewis came here abt. 3 o'clk.

21. Mrs. Stuart and the two eldest Miss Stuarts came to dinner.

22. Colo. Carrington and Lady came in the afternn.

23. Colo. Carrington and Lady went away after Breakfast. Doctr. Craik came to dinner, and Doctr. Stuart at Night.

25. Doctr. Craik and Doctr. Stuart both went away after Breakfast.

27. Doctr. Craik who was sent for to Mrs. Lewis (who was delivered of a daughter abt. [ ] oclock in the forenoon) came to Breakfast and stayed [to] dinner. Mr. Dublois dined here, and both went away afterwards.

28. Colo. and Mrs. Carrington came to Dinner.

29. Young D. McCarty came to dinner and Mr. Howell Lewis and wife after dinner.

30. Colo. and Mrs. Carrington went away after b[reakfas]t.

DECEMBER

1. Mr. Foot dined here.

2. Lord Fairfax, Lady, Daughter and Miss Dennison dined here.

3. Mrs. Stuart and Daughter went away after breakfast.

4. Morning clear. Wind at No. Wt. and Mer. at 36. From 10 oclock until 2 very like for Snow, it then cleared and became mild and pleasant. Mer 38 at N:

5. Morning raining, and continued to do so moderately through the day with the Wind at So. Et. Mer 38 in the Morning and 36 at Night.

7. Rainy Morning, with the Wind at No. Et. and Mer at 37 afternoon clear and pleasant wind westerly. Mer 48 at Night. Dined at Lord Fairfax's.

9. Mr. Howell Lewis and wife set off on their return home after breakfast, and Mr. Lawe. Lewis and Washington Custis on a journy. to N. Kent.

10. Morning clear and calm Mer at 31 afternoon lowering. Mer at 42 and wind brisk from the southward. A very large hoar frost this Morng.

11. But little wind and Raining. Mer 44 in the Morning and 38 at Night. About 9 oclock the Wind shifted to No. Wt. and it ceased raining but contd. Cloudy. Lord Fairfax, his Son Thos. and daughter, Mrs. Warner Washington and son Whiting, and Mr. Jno. Herbert dined here and returned after dinner.

12. Morning Cloudy. Wind at No. Et. and Mer. 33. A large circle round the Moon last Night. About 10 o'clock it began to snow, soon after to Hail, and then to a settled cold Rain.[1] Mer. 28 at Night.

13. Morning Snowing and abt. 3 inches deep. Wind at No. Et., and Mer. at 30. contg. Snowing till 1 O'clock, and abt. 4 it became perfectly clear. Wind in the same place but not hard. Mer. 28 at Night.[2]

[1] 'On Thursday, December 12, the General rode out to his farms about ten o'clock, and did not return till past three. Soon after he went out, the weather became very bad, rain, hail, snow falling alternately, with a cold wind. When he came in . . . his neck appeared to be wet, and the snow was hanging upon his hair. He came to dinner (which had been waiting for him) without changing his dress. In the evening he appeared as well as usual.' (*Tobias Lear's account.*) The next day a heavy snow prevented him from riding out as usual. He complained of a sore throat, and in the evening (December 13) he was very hoarse. Between two and three o'clock Saturday morning (December 14), he woke Mrs. Washington and told her he was ill. He could scarcely speak; but would not allow her to get up for fear of her catching cold. When daylight came, the household was aroused. Tobias Lear immediately sent for Dr. Craik. At Washington's request Albin Rawlins, with much hesitancy, bled him. About one half a pint of blood was taken and Mrs. Washington, even then, was afraid the quantity was too great. Drs. Gustavus Brown, of Port Tobacco, and Elisha Cullen Dick, of Alexandria, arrived about 3 P.M., and various remedies, hot applications, gargles, foot-baths, etc., were tried. It was decided to bleed the General again, which still further weakened him without bringing about any improvement. He gradually sank and died about 10 P.M., December 14, 1799.

The available sources, descriptive of Washington's last illness and death, are printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 14, pp. 245–58. It seems quite probable that the amount of blood taken from Washington by the two bleedings so weakened him that his strength was not sufficient to combat the throat condition.

[2] This entry for December 13th is, most probably, the last writing of Washington.

THE END

Index

INDEX

A

Abbot's tavern, Andover, Washington at, **4:** 47.

Abernethy, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 141, 270.

Abingdon, Virginia, **2:** 355, 349 n, 357, 368, 386, 405, 452; **3:** 5, 8, 9, 59, 90, 120, 128, 129, 142, 166, 167, 240, 241, 318, 325, 362, 369, 384, 401, 457; **4:** 6; bull from, **3:** 129; Washington at, **2:** 349, 366; **3:** 25, 55, 56, 122, 241, 242, 257, 323, 427; Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 405; **3:** 25, 59, 241, 323, 427.

Acacia plant, **2:** 383.

Accokeet Iron Works, **1:** 138 n.

Accotink, Virginia (Creek, River, Run), **1:** 364. **2:** 97, 100, 338; barbecue, **2:** 123, 161; fox-hunting, **1:** 310; freshes, **3:** 101; races at, **1:** 292, 292 n; Washington at, **1:** 292 n; **2:** 55, 123, 161; Washington's barbecue at, **2:** 124.

Accounts, posting, **1:** 336; Washington's, **1:** 357 n.

Acorns, sent Washington, **2:** 377 n.

Acres, William, **1:** 333, 338.

Active, French frigate, **4:** 19.

Adam, Dowe & Iver, Washington's land from, **2:** 339, 344.

Adam, Francis, **2:** 46 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 46.

Adam, James, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 38, 42, 63.

Adam, Robert, **1:** 162, 162 n, 375, 396; **2:** 38 n, 46 n, 392; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 295, 361, 363, 364, 372, 373, 374, 377; **2:** 4, 12, 13, 14, 22, 45, 75, 83, 98, 108, 110, 118, 138, 143, 144, 147, 149, 150, 160, 191; fishing agreement, **1:** 367; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 264, 265; mill, **2:** 367; new store, **2:** 70; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95; Washington visits, **2:** 10, 75, 99.

Adam, Robert & Co., Washington sells flour to, **2:** 21, 22 n, 23.

Adam, William, sheriff, **1:** 284 n, 369, 388 n; **4:** 301.

Adam, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 14.

Adams, Abednego, **1:** 347; **2:** 30; **3:** 447; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 99, 193; fishing landing, **2:** 192; sends tobacco plants, **3:** 374; Washington visits, **2:** 192.

Adams, Abigail, daughter of John Adams, **4:** 17 n.

Adams, Daniel Jenifer, **2:** 71 n, 182 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 71, 182; troubles Washington, **2:** 183 n.

Adams, John, **2:** 165 n, 167, 167 n; **4:** 15, 15 n, 17 n, 35 n, 39 n, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 65, 78, 82, 85, 94, 115, 131 n, 141, 280 n, 289 n, 305 n; at Flushing, **4:** 18; inauguration, **4:** 253 n; letter describing close of Washington's Presidential term, **4:** 253 n; letter to, **4:** 280 n; opinion on British attitude, **4:** 132; opinion on Spanish alliance, **4:** 132; opinion requested, **4:** 139, 142; proclaims fast day, **4:** 276; Washington's portrait, **4:** 112; Washington visits, **4:** 289; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **4:** 56, 91; welcome of City of Washington to, 36, 84.

Adams, Mrs. John (Abigail), **4:** 19, 53; theatre ticket from Washington, **4:** 55; Washington visits, **4:** 54.

Adams, John Quincy, **4:** 17 n, 57 n, 141 n.

Adams, Peter, lieutenant colonel, **2:** 261, 261 n.

Adams, Richard, of Richmond, at

Mount Vernon, **2**: 191; Washington at, **2**: 189 n, 190.
Adams, Samuel, **2**: 165 n, **4**: 33 n; bears message to Washington, **4**: 36; escorts Washington into Boston, **4**: 33, 34, 35.
Adams, Sir Thomas, captain, **1**: 387; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 386; illness, **1**: 392; Washington visits, **1**: 392, 393.
Adams, Thomas Boylston, **4**: 57 n, 305.
Adamson, ——, of Hamburgh, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 270.
Addison, Anthony, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 137.
Addison, John, colonel, **1**: 163 n, 388 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 385.
Addison, Mrs. John (Rachel Dulany), **1**: 385 n.
Addison, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 145, 150.
Addison, ——, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 277.
Addison, ——, **1**: 310; **2**: 91; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 142, 142 n, 326; sons at Mount Vernon, **3**: 311.
Agawam River, **4**: 30.
d'Agenois Regiment, **2**: 258 n.
Agriculture experiment. *See* Experiment.
Ague, attacks Washington, **1**: 345; **3**: 109, 110, 111.
Aide de camp, **2**: 109 n.
Aitkins (Aitkinson), ——, captain, **3**: 56 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 56.
Aitkinson, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 69.
Alabama River, **4**: 100.
Albany, New York, **2**: 235, 250, 257, 321, 324; boats, **2**: 246, 248; militia ordered to, **2**: 229; militia fail to reach, **2**: 247; troops ordered to, **2**: 223.
Albemarle Sound, North Carolina, **1**: 189.
Aldge, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 382.
Alexander, Charles, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 13, 345; dispute with Mason and Ellzey, **1**: 273.
Alexander, Charles, Jr., at Mount Vernon, **4**: 274.
Alexander, George, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 292, 293, 329, 345, 370; **2**: 124, 185; pocosin of, **1**: 368; Washington hunting at, **1**: 368.
Alexander, Gerard, **1**: 247 n.
Alexander, Giles, Washington fox hunts in his pocosin, **2**: 88.
Alexander, John, fox hunting with Washington, **1**: 255, 255 n.
Alexander, Morgan, Ordinary, **2**: 171 n; Washington at, **2**: 171, 172.
Alexander, Philip, **1**: 254; **2**: 459; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 185, 370; **2**: 458; fox hunting with Washington, **1**: 300, 370; island of, **2**: 101.
Alexander, Robert, **1**: 161, 247, 252, 255, 319; **3**: 167; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 252, 253, 265, 278, 283, 292, 293, 294, 300, 302, 310, 318, 329, 345, 348, 350, 361, 365, 370, 389; **2**: 15, 66, 102, 124, 185, 245; fox hunt, **2**: 101, 367; fox hunting with Washington, **1**: 245, 252, 294, 345, 361, 370; **2**: 102, 137; pocosin, **3**: 12; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2**: 95; suit with administrator of John Parke Custis's estate, **3**: 316, 434, 443; Washington borrows fox hounds from: **1**: 247; Washington fox hunting with, **1**: 368; Washington visits, **1**: 254, 367, 368.
Alexander, William, called Lord Stirling, **2**: 97, 97 n, 112, 347, 347 n.
Alexander, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 44.
Alexander, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 60.
Alexanders (Family), **1**: 120 n.
Alexandria, Virginia, **1**: 73 n, 74, 116, 117, 130, 256, 264, 318, 374, 381; **2**: 4, 10 n, 70, 71, 322, 333, 343, 353, 364, 365, 391, 412, 431; address of citizens to French Minister, **3**: 441; address to Washington, **4**: 255 n; Assembly balls, dances, etc., **1**: 126, 127, 157, 169 n, 264, 308, 312; **2**: 71, 75, 434, 442, 457, 461; **3**: 6, 8, 23, 167, 271, 298; ball given by Washington, **1**: 301; **2**: 43; Bank, **4**: 257 n, 269, 457 n, 464 n; beginning of, **1**:

120 n; British intent against, **2:** 225; celebration of Independence Day, **4:** 309; celebration of Virginia's ratification of U.S. Constitution, **3:** 379; church, **2:** 120 n; church attended by Washington, **1:** 120, 278; **2:** 70, 115, 119, 120, 121, 123, 148, 154, 157, 158, 170; **3:** 325; **4:** 250, 285, 306, 318; building of, **1:** 120 n; sale of pews, **2:** 95; coffee house, **3:** 98; county meeting at, **2:** 156, 157; dinner to John Marshall, **4:** 283; elections at, **1:** 301; **2:** 156, 169 n, 186, 364; **3:** 45, 196, 268, 312, 331; **4:** 3, 6, 274, 303; ferry, Washington at, **2:** 194 n; fireworks, **2:** 139 n; grass seed from, **3:** 181; iron from, **3:** 5; Jockey Club, **3:** 124; Leesburg road, **2:** 403; mayor, **2:** 98 n, 147 n; meeting of Virginia and Maryland commissioners on trade relations, **2:** 352, 352 n; military manoeuvers, **4:** 298; muster at, **2:** 106; Potomac Company meetings, **2:** 445; **3:** 44, 157, 263, 265, 265 n, 398; **4:** 282; races at, **4:** 304; races at, **2:** 426, 427; **3:** 124; **4:** 304; road from Gum Spring, **3:** 446; sermon at, **4:** 276; ship launching at, **1:** 163, 294; **2:** 63; tobacco warehouses, **1:** 136 n, 152; troops at, **1:** 73; turtle feast given by Washington at, **2:** 445; trustee meeting, **1:** 364; Washington at, **1:** 43, 109, 117, 123, 126, 127, 140, 154, 154 n, 163, 246, 253, 257, 264, 265 n, 271, 273, 278, 284 n, 290, 292, 294, 299, 301, 308, 313, 315, 321, 322, 326, 328, 329, 335, 336, 344, 345, 345 n, 346, 348, 362, 364, 366, 369, 373, 388, 389, 397; **2:** 21, 32, 41, 41 n, 43, 46, 49, 51, 61, 63, 70, 71, 75, 83, 99, 106, 114, 118, 119, 123, 146, 148, 154, 156, 157, 161, 169, 170, 173, 174, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 191, 192, 193, 194, 278, 336, 341, 342, 344, 353, 356, 364, 366, 376, 377, 380, 386, 394, 405, 412, 417, 426, 427, 434, 445, 451, 457; **3:** 44, 45, 75, 102, 107, 119, 124, 126, 136, 140, 157, 196, 263, 265, 268, 293, 311, 312, 316, 331, 352, 379, 388, 398, 399, 406, 434, 442, 443, 447, 455; **4:** 3, 6, 155, 229, 239, 255, 255 n, 257, 258, 260, 262, 264, 265, 269, 271, 276, 277, 279, 281, 282, 298, 301, 301 n, 303, 303 n, 304, 308; Washington goes by water to, **3:** 107; Washington at. *See also* Court (Alexandria); Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **1:** 397 n; **2:** 70, 71, 118, 161, 174, 187, 344, 412; **3:** 136, 406, 447; **4:** 269, 269 n, 281; Washington's birthday celebrated in, **4:** 271, 298; Washington's boat sent to, **2:** 451; **3:** 28, 29, 46; Washington's debts in, **4:** 7; Washington's house in, **1:** 314, 348, 362; **2:** 11 n, 30, 30 n, 41, 71, 79; Washington's land adjoining, **2:** 53; Washington's survey of, **1:** 120 n.

Alexandria Academy, **2:** 446 n; **3:** 408; exhibition, Washington attends, **3:** 263; invitation to Washington, **3:** 121; Washington's endowment, **2:** 457, 457 n; Washington's nephews at, **2:** 446, 450.

Algiers, American captives in, **4:** 106, 106 n, 107, 113.

Aliquippa, Delaware Indian queen, **1:** 40, 66; son of, **1:** 101.

Allan, Andrew, Washington at, **2:** 196.

Allan, David, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 122.

Allan, John, **1:** 343 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 343.

Allan, John, attorney, **2:** 111 n; Washington visits, **2:** 111.

Allan, Shadrach, **4:** 164 n; Washington at, **4:** 164.

Allan, William, chief justice, **2:** 196 n; Washington visits, **2:** 196.

Allan, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 430; **3:** 150, 158, 160.

Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, insurrection in, **4:** 209 n, 212.

Allegheny Mountains, **2:** 312, 318.

Allegheny River, Croghan's place on, **1:** 410.

Allen, James, Philadelphia, **2:** 163 n; Washington visits, **2:** 163 n, 164.

Allen, John, colonel, Neuse River, **4:** 164 n, 165; Washington at, **4:** 164.

Alligator pear, **1:** 27 n.

Alligood, James, **1**: 130, 130 n.
Allison, John, colonel, **1**: 342 n; **2**: 362 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 342; **2**: 362, 364.
Allison, Thomas, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 9, 98; sends Washington holly trees, **3**: 35.
Alston, William, captain, **4**: 169 n; Washington at, **4**: 169.
Alton, John, overseer, River farms, **2**: 457, 458; illness, **2**: 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411, 428; death, **2**: 453; house for widow, **3**: 137.
Ambler, Edward, **1**: 387 n.
Ambler, Mrs. Edward (Mary Cary), **1**: 387 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 387, 388.
Ambler, Mrs. ——, Washington at, **2**: 58, 86.
Amboy, New Jersey, Washington at, **2**: 113.
Amelia County, Virginia, Tarleton's raid in, **2**: 246.
American Repository of Useful Information (The), xix, xx.
Ames, Fisher, **4**: 66 n, 67, 102, 128, 140.
Ammunition, Congress Committee on, **2**: 196 n.
Anderson, ——, of Williamsburg, Washington at, **2**: 17, 40, 58, 87, 87 n, 131, 153, 154.
Anderson's Bridge, North Anna Branch, Virginia, Washington at, **4**: 198.
Anderson's Tavern, Richmond, Washington at, **2**: 371.
Andover, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4**: 47.
André, John, Major, **2**: 215 n.
Andrews, Robert, **2**: 67 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 67, 68.
Andrews, ——, jeweler, offer to furnish Society of the Cincinnati medals, **2**: 341, 341 n.
Andrews, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 355.
Andrews, ——, Virginia, **4**: 162; Washington at, **4**: 161.
d'Angely, Baron, **2**: 235 n.
Ann, brig, **3**: 70.
Annapolis, Maryland, **1**: 389, 397, 454; **2**: 20, 78 n; ball at, **2**: 82, 126 n; **4**: 152; Coffee House, **2**: 34, 35; Boucher's school, **1**: 274 n; jockey club, **2**: 35 n, 82; races, **2**: 34, 34 n, 35 n, 82, 125; State House, **4**: 152; theater, **2**: 35 n, 125; Washington at, **2**: 34, 35, 82, 83, 107, 108, 110, 125, 126, 162 n, 169; **4**: 151, 152.
Annapolis, packet, **2**: 111 n; Washington on, **2**: 111.
Anne and Elizabeth, brigantine, purchased by Washington, **2**: 146, 146 n.
Anspach, Bavaria, **2**: 212 n; troops, **2**: 212, 212 n, 214.
Anstey, John, **3**: 144 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 144, 145, 160, 161.
Anthony, ——, Miller, **1**: 151.
Apollo Room. *See* Raleigh Tavern.
Apple orchard, sowing at, **1**: 187.
Apple pummice sowed, **1**: 297.
Apple trees, **3**: 24, 25; from Maj. Jenifer, **2**: 434, 435, 436.
Apples, **1**: 147, 200, 210, 211; **3**: 407, 412, 418, 419; for cider, **1**: 201, 202; scarcity and stolen, **2**: 412.
Appomattox River, **4**: 162.
Appropriations Act (1790), **4**: 108, 108 n, 109.
Apricot trees, **2**: 341, 429; **3**: 13, 33.
Aquia, Virginia, **1**: 322 n; **2**: 79; Washington at, **1**: 266; **2**: 128, 154, 154 n.
Aquia Creek, Virginia, stone quarries, **3**: 7 n; Washington at, **2**: 160.
Arbitrator, Washington an, **1**: 5, 7, 454; **2**: 12.
Arbuthnot, Marriot, Vice Admiral, off Black Island, **2**: 217 n.
Archy's Spring, West Virginia, **2**: 309.
Argo, Washington's tobacco shipped in, **1**: 167 n.
Ariss, John, Washington at, **1**: 317.
Arlington, Eastern Shore, **2**: 53.
Armand's Legion, **4**: 20 n.
Armies, allied, position, **2**: 241; to go to Virginia, **2**: 254.
Armistead, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 259, 279, 282.
Arms, for Fairfax Independent Company, **2**: 193 n; muskets for the

Prince William Independent Company, **2**: 196 n; purchase, **2**: 220.
Armstrong, ——, of Georgetown, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 6.
Army, British, cavalry, **2**: 214, 252; deceived as to allies march on Yorktown, **2**: 256 n; expedition from New York, **2**: 214, 216; expedition sails to relieve Cornwallis, **2**: 271; Guards, **2**: 251, 252; grenadiers, **2**: 212; marching order countermanded, **2**: 221; reënforcement expected, **2**: 215; regiments, **2**: 213, 214; troops arrive at Charleston, South Carolina, **2**: 230; troops in Hampton Roads, **2**: 251, 252, 253; in Virginia, **2**: 209, 226.
Army, Continental, arrival at Williamsburg, **2**: 261, 261 n; arrival at King's bridge, **2**: 242; boat transportation for, **2**: 258, 260, 260 n; captures redoubt at Yorktown, **2**: 266; Congress committee on regulations, **2**: 196 n, 199 n; crosses Hudson River, **2**: 256; detachment, **2**: 241; detachment sent to Yorktown, **2**: 255; dissipation of strength, **2**: 250; distress for supplies, **2**: 212; feint in march on Yorktown, **2**: 256; junction with French, **2**: 217, 234; losses, **2**: 266, 267, 268, 270 n; march against New York, **2**: 262; march to Head of Elk, **2**: 258; march to Yorktown, **2**: 262; march from Yorktown, **2**: 272; men and provisions for offensive operations, **2**: 217; Northern Department, **2**: 211, 228, 229, 230; number of troops necessary for campaign (of 1782), **2**: 243; passes Sing Sing, **2**: 255; position at Yorktown, **2**: 262; reënforcements, **2**: 235, 248; **3**: 240, 241; regulations, **2**: 196–199 n; route to Yorktown, **2**: 256, 259; Southern, **2**: 208, 270; strength at Yorktown, **2**: 270 n; state quotas not forwarded, **2**: 208; supplies, **2**: 207, 212; support of, **2**: 243; Washington describes condition of, **2**: 207.
Army, French, arrival at Williamsburg, **2**: 261, 261 n; bread from, **2**: 236; captures redoubt at Yorktown, **2**: 262; crosses Hudson River, **2**: 256; detachment on reconnoissance, **2**: 242; grenadiers, **2**: 242, 259, 269; halt at Providence, **2**: 221; junction with American, **2**: 234; losses, **2**: 266, 267, 268, 270 n; march through Connecticut, **2**: 228, 229; march to cross the Hudson, **2**: 255; march to Head of Elk, **2**: 258; mistake in march; **2**: 242; at Northcastle, **2**: 234; at Philadelphia, **2**: 258; position at Yorktown, **2**: 262; route to Yorktown, **2**: 257; stores, **2**: 218; strength at Yorktown, **2**: 270 n; supplies for, **2**: 210; troops with De Grasse **2**: 258, 258 n, 259 n; troops to join Lafayette, **2**: 260; Washington visits, **2**: 234.
Army, United States, act for regulating the military establishment, **4**: 116, 116 n, 122; inadequate in Washington's opinion, **4**: 125, 125 n; officers dine with Washington, **4**: 252.
Arnold, Benedict, **2**: 165 n, 209 n, 223, 223 n; **4**: 136.
Arrell, David, innkeeper, Alexandria, **1**: 265 n; account against Washington, **1**: 301 n; **2**: 43 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 108; Washington at, **1**: 284 n; **2**: 34, 41, 61 n, 75, 79, 80, 139, 139 n, 156, 169 n.
D'Arteignan, Count de Cheiza, **3**: 30 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 30, 31.
Artichokes. *See* Jerusalem artichokes.
Artillery, **2**: 255, 259; commanding officer, *see* Knox, Henry; difficulty in moving, **2**: 261; embarked for Wilmington, **2**: 271; French, **2**: 231, 256, 257, 265, 265 n; heavy, **2**: 241; Lambs, **2**: 255, 255 n, 256, 257; needed for siege of New York, **2**: 220, 221.
Arts, act for encouragement of, **4**: 113, 113 n.
Asbury, Francis, clergyman, **2**: 379 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 379.
Asbury Park, New Jersey, named, **2**: 379 n.
Ash trees, **2**: 346, 433.
Ashby, Benjamin, **2**: 185 n.
Ashby, Henry, **1**: 5 n, 8 n.

Ashby, John, captain, **1:** 4, 4 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 137; Washington at, **2:** 145; guides Washington, **2:** 317.
Ashby, Robert, **1:** 5 n; **2:** 137 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 185; Washington at, **1:** 316, 317; **2:** 65, 65 n.
Ashby, Thomas, **1:** 4 n.
Ashby's Bent, Blue Ridge Mountains, **1:** 4 n, 12, 316; Washington's land at, **2:** 460.
Ashby Gap, road to, **1:** 4 n.
Ashe, John B., **4:** 111, 111 n, 163, 163 n, 169 n.
Ashes, on lawn, **3:** 173.
Ashford, Mrs. George, widow, **1:** 369.
Ashford, William, **1:** 185, 185 n, 186; land purchase from, **1:** 185 n.
Ashford, ——, **1:** 201.
Ashford's, Washington's purchase of land from, **1:** 371, 372.
Ashford, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 49, 50.
Ashley River, Washington at, **4:** 174.
Ashton, Burdett, **2:** 19 n; Washington at, 2, 19.
Ashton, Jacob, **4:** 40 n.
Ashy, Thomas, **1:** 316 n.
Askew, John, carpenter, **1:** 214, 215, 215 n.
Asparagus, **2:** 342.
Aspen trees, **2:** 344, 355, 433.
Asses, jack, **2:** 449; **3:** 15, 400; arrive at Mount Vernon, **2:** 453; breeding, **3:** 47; expense of, **2:** 454; jennies, **3:** 136, 138, 138 n, 139 n, 142, 284, 400, 437; keeper, **2:** 454; from Lafayette, **3:** 136, 138, 138 n, 139 n, 142; Maltese, **3:** 284, 400; sent to Marlborough, **3:** 321, 321 n; from Spain, **2:** 428, 428 n, 454, 458, 458 n; use of by Washington, **3:** 138 n; work with, **3:** 174.
Association, Non-Importation Agreement, **1:** 379, 380.
Astor, John Jacob, **4:** 142 n.
Atchison & Parker, **1:** 130.
Athill, John, **4:** 263 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Atkinson, captain, **2:** 374; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 412.
Attorney-General, Virginia, Washington visits, **1:** 298, 354, 355. *See also* Randolph, John.
Auburn, Fauquier County, Virginia, **1:** 4 n.
Augusta, Georgia, **2:** 234; **4:** 178; address to Washington, **4:** 179; Washington at, **4:** 179, 180, 181.
Augusta County, Virginia, division of, **2:** 314, 314 n.
Augusta Parish, Virginia, **2:** 45 n.
Augusta Springs, Virginia, **2:** 282, 284.
Aurora Borealis, **3:** 396.
Austria, offers mediation in Revolutionary War, **2:** 220.
Auvergne Regiment, **2:** 259 n.
Avery, John, Jr., **4:** 35 n.
D'Avilier, ——, captain, **2:** 265, 265 n.
Aylett, Anne, **1:** 127 n. *See also* Washington, Mrs. Augustine.
Aylett, William, **1:** 298 n; Washington at, **1:** 298.
Ayscough's, Williamsburg, Washington at, **1:** 298, 324, 324 n.

B

Babcock, Mrs. Luke, **2:** 251, 251 n.
Bache, Mrs. Richard, **2:** 232, 232 n.
Back Bone Mountain, Garnett County, Maryland, **2:** 309 n; Washington crosses, **2:** 309.
Back Creek, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 282, 282 n.
Bacon, Fort, tavern, Loudoun County, Washington at, **3:** 362.
Badlam, Ezra, lieutenant-colonel, **2:** 215, 215 n.
Baggage, army, **2:** 256, 257; carried by Washington on the Ohio trip, **2:** 299.
Bailey, Francis, printer, **4:** 73, 73 n, 74.
Bailey, Pierce, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 322; **2:** 14.
Bailey, Thomas, **2:** 106.
Bailey, William, **2:** 445, 445 n.

Bailey, ——, captain, **1**: 121.
Baker, ——, surgeon dentist, **2**: 59 n, 104 n, 452; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 127, 127 n, 452.
Bakery, French, established as a blind, **2**: 255.
Balch, Stephen Bloomer, clergyman, **2**: 344 n; **3**: 6, 6 n.
Baldo, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 285.
Baldridge, Matthew, Jr., **3**: 301; arrival at Mount Vernon, **2**: 374.
Baldwin, Abraham, **2**: 456 n; **4**: 67, 67 n, 104 n, 105; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 456.
Balendine, Frances, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 42, 382, 385; **3**: 240, 408; sends seed to Washington, **3**: 203.
Balendine, John, **1**: 292, 363 n; **2**: 395, 396, 397, 416; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 363 n, 365; **2**: 62, 175, 382, 385; dispute with Washington, **1**: 109, 109 n; sale of, 109, 109 n.
Balendine, Sally, **1**: 292; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 292, 292 n.
Balfour & Barraud, of Norfolk, **3**: 50, 50 n.
Ball, Burgess, colonel, **3**: 187; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 5, 460; **3**: 175; **4**: 272, 301, 305; **3**: 130.
Ball, Jesse, **2**: 65–66.
Ball, John, millwright, **1**: 367 n; 380, 381, 382; agreement to build mill, **1**: 357, 357 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 322, 369; **3**: 61; work on mill, **1**: 373, 375, 376.
Ball, Joseph, colonel, **1**: 115 n.
Ball, Moses, **2**: 366; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 61.
Ball, Mrs., mother of Richard Chichester, **1**: 309 n.
Ball, William, colonel, of Northumberland, **1**: 107.
Ball, ——, widow (formerly Spurrier's Tavern), Washington at, **3**: 238.
Ball, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 455; **2**: 61.
Balls, dances, etc., **1**: 312; attended by Washington, **1**: 126, 290, 294, 355, 382; **2**: 35, 43, 57, 70, 71, 75, 82, 85, 86, 111, 126, 152, 157, 166, 168; **4**: 271; election, **2**: 43, 43 n, 169 n; given by Washington, **2**: 43, 43 n; Washington, Mrs. Washington and the Custis children attend, **2**: 71.
Balmain, Alexander, clergyman, **2**: 45 n, 284; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 45, 74.
Baltimore, Maryland, address to Washington, **2**: 260, 260 n; **4**: 254 n; entertains Washington, **2**: 194; French troops from, **2**: 261; merchants present miniature ship to Washington, **3**: 365; militia reviewed by Washington, **2**: 194; **4**: 288; military escort for Washington, **4**: 288; troops to march to, **2**: 259; watercraft to be forwarded to, **2**: 259 n; Washington at, **2**: 114, 194, 215, 238, 260; **4**: 299, 234, 237, 239, 254, 288, 290.
Bancroft, Edward, physician, **4**: 16, 16 n.
Banel & Co., Boston, **4**: 114.
Banister River, Virginia, Washington crosses, **4**: 196.
Bank of United States, Act establishing, **4**: 196, 196 n.
Barbadoes, Washington's visit to, **1**: 16, 17, 21, 22, 23 n, 24, 27, 27 n.
Barbecue, Washington at, **1**: 326, 391; **2**: 123, 150, 161; Washington gives, **2**: 124.
Barber, William, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 5; rents land from Washington, **3**: 6.
Barclay, Thomas, **1**: 341 n; **2**: 166, 167 n; dines with Washington, **1**: 340, 341, 342; Washington visits, **2**: 167.
Barge, for Washington at Charleston, **4**: 171, 171 n; Washington's, **2**: 366, 368, 378, 412, 426; **4**: 18, 18 n.
Barley, **1**: 148, 149, 152, 153, 154, 347, 351; **3**: 48, 52, 53, 54, 59, 63, 64, 68, 69, 156, 162, 165, 167, 168, 170, 180, 183, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 198, 200, 203, 209, 213, 218, 269, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 323, 324, 325,

326, 327, 328, 332, 333, 334, 335, 341, 346, 349, 354, 384, 385, 397, 398, 399, 400, 404, 408, 409, 413, 445; condition, **2:** 359, 370, 371, 373, 387; crop, **3:** 269, 271; experiment, **3:** 42, 44, 328, 330, 331; Minorca, **3:** 344, 347, 348, 371; naked, **3:** 341, 342, 347; seeds, **3:** 159, 161; sown, **2:** 365; **3:** 40, 44, 46, 47; treading, **3:** 267; winter, **1:** 187.

Barn, **1:** 275; **3:** 301; at Dogue Run, **1:** 251; new, **3:** 304, 339, 342, 355, 358, 381, 418, 428, 443; French Minister visits, **3:** 441; Washington at, **3:** 420, 433, 441, 442, 443; Washington describes, **3:** 444 n.

Barnaby Brittle, or a Wife at her Wit's Ends, play attended by Washington, **4:** 250 n.

Barnaby, Richard, letter to, **2:** 259 n.

Barnes, Abraham, **1:** 107 n, 121, 121 n, 155, 155 n; **2:** 51 n.

Barnes, David, **1:** 155, 155 n.

Barnes, John, **2:** 51 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 51; **3:** 105; sends wheat, **3:** 430; Washington visits, **2:** 63.

Barnes, Mrs. Sarah, **2:** 63, 64, 107 n, 133; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 107; **2:** 38, 60, 83, 99, 100, 117, 119, 132, 145, 147, 187.

Barnes, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 276.

Barney, John H. of Havre de Grace, Maryland, **4:** 237; Washington at, **4:** 290.

Barney, Joshua, captain, **3:** 365 n, 366; navigates the *Federalist* to Mount Vernon, **3:** 365; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 369.

Barnie, Richard, **4:** 298 n.

Barr, ——, **4:** 184 n, 185; Washington at, **4:** 184.

Barrack, ——, general, **1:** 26.

Barracuda, tiger fish, **1:** 17, 17 n.

Barras, Louis, Comte de, *Chef d'escadre*, French fleet, **2:** 213 n, 240; conference with Washington, **2:** 213, 217; intelligence sent to, **2:** 212; letter from, **2:** 213, 224, 247, 247 n, 253, 253 n; objections to leaving Newport, **2:** 247; proposes attempt on Newfoundland, **2:** 254; remonstrated with by Washington and Rochambeau, **2:** 254; sails for Boston, **2:** 221; squadron arrives at Williamsburg, **2:** 261; Washington's letter to, **2:** 235 n.

Barraud, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259.

Barre, ——, Utrecht, Washington at, **4:** 116.

Barrel, sowing, **3:** 260, 262.

Barrel, or barrel plow, for sowing wheat, **3:** 256, 257, 260, 262, 412, 413, 417.

Barrel plow planter, sowing with, **3:** 412, 413, 417.

Barry, David, **4:** 274 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 274, 286, 300, 302, 317.

Barry, Edward, **1:** 294 n.

Barry, James, captain, **4:** 280.

Barry, John, **1:** 294, 294 n.

Barry, William, **1:** 162, 162 n.

Barry, ——, on the Shenandoah, Washington at, **2:** 9, 50, 79, 335; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 262.

Barry's houses, Dogue Run, **3:** 62, 64, 67, 79, 82, 90.

Bartram, John, **3:** 222 n.

Bartram, William, botanical garden, **3:** 222 n; Washington at, **3:** 222, 234.

Barwick. *See* Berwick.

Baskingridge, New Jersey, **2:** 112 n; Washington at, **2:** 112.

Bassett, Betsey, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 317.

Bassett, Burwell, colonel, **1:** 111, 114, 189 n, 246, 268, 269, 318, 353; **2:** 60, 61, 87, 130, 147 n, 148, 149, 153 n, 423, 456; **3:** 36, 121, 309, 339; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 317, 319, 320; **2:** 60, 61, 62, 147, 148, 149, 333, 385, 386, 388; **3:** 120, 121; at Washington's oyster party, **1:** 354; family travels with Washington, **2:** 60; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 317 n; **2:** 61; gives negroes to G. A. Washington, **3:** 160; letter to, **2:** 140 n, 423 n; meadow, **1:** 267; trades horses with

Washington, **2**: 18 n; Washington visits, **1**: 266, 267, 268, 269, 296, 326, 353, 355, 385; **2**: 16, 17, 18, 26, 40, 56, 57, 84, 85, 86, 87, 104, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 151, 152, 153, 154, 158, 159. *See also* Eltham.
Bassett, Mrs. Burwell; (Anna Maria Dandridge), **1**: 109, 111, 114, 148; **2**: 153 n, 353; at Washington's oyster party, **1**: 354; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 147, 148; journey to Port Royal, **1**: 112, 113; payment to, **2**: 40 n.
Bassett, Burwell, Jr., **2**: 417; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 388, 389, 419, 420, 427; **3**: 120, 121; **4**: 261, 264, 282, 300, 310, 315; marriage, **3**: 295.
Bassett, Burwell, Jr. and John, **2**: 421, 426, 427; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 417.
Bassett, Frances, **2**: 147 n, 362, 364, 391, 393, 394, 405, 411, 412, 419, 423; **4**: 239; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 147, 333, 337, 341, 344, 379, 380, 386, 387, 406, 408, 410, 411; Pine's picture of, **2**: 461; Washington's wish that she live at Mount Vernon, **2**: 424 n; wedding, **2**: 423. *See also* Washington, Mrs. George A.
Bassett, John, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 385, 427; **4**: 259; hurt, **2**: 427.
Bassett, Richard, **4**: 72, 94, 94 n.
Bassett, William (Billy), **1**: 266; **2**: 147 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 147.
Bassey Swamp, **1**: 191.
Bath, Virginia, Washington at, **2**: 282, 284; **4**: 219; Washington's houses at, **2**: 283; Washington's journey to, **2**: 280, 281.
Bath Springs. *See* Warm Springs.
Batteaux, **1**: 381; **2**: 125 n.
Battery, New York City, Washington walks around, **4**: 52, 57, 58, 65, 66, 68, 83, 94, 113.
Baum, Friederich, lieutenant colonel, **2**: 230 n.
Bayard, Robert, major, **2**: 112 n; travels with Washington, **2**: 112; Washington at, **2**: 113.
Bayley, Pierce, deputy sheriff, **1**: 284 n.
Baylor, John, **2**: 85 n; ball at Williamsburg, **2**: 85; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 106, 107; Washington visits, **2**: 371.
Bayly, William, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 63.
Bayne, ——, son, **1**: 310, 310 n.
Baynham, William, physician, **2**: 453 n; **4**: 298 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 453, 454; **4**: 298.
Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, **2**: 167 n.
Beale, William, Jr., **1**: 185 n.
Beall, Rezin, **2**: 141 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 141, 142.
Beall, Thomas, **2**: 395, 395 n; **4**: 199 n, 200 n.
Beall, William D., **1**: 393 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 393.
Beall, ——, of Maryland, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 127.
Beall, ——, of Williamsburg, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 189.
Beall's Mill, Maryland, Washington at, **2**: 395.
Beans, **3**: 259, 272, 287; **3**: 310, 311, 312, 327, 339, 347, 379, 450; condition, **3**: 371; harvest, **3**: 266; hominy, **3**: 346, 349, 352, 380, 421, 435; number to a pint, **3**: 346.
Bear, **1**: 434; **2**: 49.
Bear Creek, **4**: 80, 81.
Bear-skins purchased, **1**: 401 n.
Bear Tavern, Maryland, Washington at, **4**: 237 n.
Beason Town, Fayette County, Penna., **2**: 299, 299 n, 301; Washington, **2**: 299 n.
Beatty, Charles, **4**: 199 n.
Beatty, John, speaker, **4**: 57 n.
Beaver Creek, **1**: 440; **2**: 32. *See also* Big Beaver, *also* Little Beaver.
Beavers, hunted, **1**: 441.
Beckley, John, **4**: 61, 61 n, 105.
Beckwith, George, major, **4**: 137 n; communication to Hamilton, **4**: 137, 138, 139, 139 n, 143, 143 n.
Beckwith's, ——, races at, **1**: 299.
Bed, purchased by Washington, **2**: 169 n.
Bedford, Gunning, Jr., **4**: 102, 102 n.
Bedford, New York, march of French to, **2**: 231.

Bedford, Pennsylvania, **4:** 220, 223; Washington at, **4:** 221.
Bee, Thomas, **4:** 175 n; Washington at, **4:** 175.
Beef, **1:** 111, 139, 140; **2:** 234 n.
Beeswax, purchased, **1:** 134.
Belhaven (Alexandria), name, **1:** 120 n, 283 n. *See also* Alexandria.
Belknap's Biography, set subscribed for by Washington, **4:** 299 n.
Bell, Robert, with Washington, **1:** 412.
Bell. *See also* Beall.
Belleville, West Virginia, Washington's camp near, **1:** 422 n.
Belmont, Virginia, **1:** 112 n.
Belt, ——, miller, **3:** 361.
Belvoir, on the Potomac, **1:** 2, 3 n, 111, 129 n, 141 n, 154, 253, 256 n, 264, 307, 361, 363, 364, 368, 376, 377, 378, 387 n, 389; **2:** 4, 11, 20, 29, 33, 41, 50, 61, 69, 70, 71, 108, 116, 362, 363; articles purchased from, **2:** 171, 171 n; British frigate off, **1:** 385; burnt, **2:** 161 n, 173 n; fate of, **1:** 111 n; ruins of, **3:** 243, 338, 338 n; sale of, **2:** 161 n, 171, 171 n, 173 n; Washington at, **1:** 111, 116, 127, 129, 137, 144, 162, 246, 247, 257, 272, 283, 284, 290, 291, 302, 307, 311, 314, 318, 320, 321, 322, 328, 329, 330, 348, 362, 363, 368, 374, 378, 385, 387, 389, 392, 393, 454; **2:** 4, 11, 20, 29, 33, 34, 41, 50, 61, 63, 67, 71, 83, 97, 100, 108, 109, 116, 118, 123, 161, 338; **3:** 243; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **1:** 241, 247, 290, 299, 362, 389; **2:** 4, 11, 20, 29, 33, 41, 50, 61, 108, 116, 118.
Bennington, Vermont, battle, **2:** 230 n.
Benson, Egbert, **4:** 59, 59 n, 102, 124, 129, 411.
Berkeley, James River, **2:** 130 n; Washington at, **2:** 130.
Berkeley County, Virginia, **2:** 280; Washington's journey to, **2:** 144, 145, 145 n; Washington's land, **2:** 23; **3:** 22; Washington's tenants, **2:** 280.
Berkeley Springs, Virginia, Washington's journey to, **1:** 340; Washington at, **1:** 340, 341, 342, 343; Washington's journey from, **1:** 344. *See also* Warm Springs.
Berkshire County, Massachusetts, militia, **2:** 229, 250.
Bermuda, Lawrence Washington at, **1:** 26 n, 27 n; salt from, **1:** 330, 333.
Berwick (Barwick), Thomas, **1:** 6.
Berwick's Bottom, **1:** 161.
Bettis, ——, Washington at, **4:** 181.
Bevan's Tavern, Philadelphia, **2:** 167 n; Washington at, **2:** 167.
Beverley, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 41.
Beverly, Carter, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 258.
Beverly, Robert, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 272.
Beville, —— de, quartermaster general, French army, **2:** 237, 237 n.
Biddle, Charles, Washington at, **3:** 236.
Biddle, Clement, colonel, **4:** 222 n; letter to, **2:** 339 n.
Big Barren River, **4:** 101.
Big Beaver Creek, Pennsylvania, **1:** 144, 412 n; **2:** 318, 319; navigation, **4:** 141; Washington at, **1:** 412.
Big Bone Lick, West Virginia, **1:** 445 n.
Big Buffalo Lick, Ohio, **1:** 445, 445 n.
Big Guyendotte, Ohio, **1:** 445.
Big Hockhocking River, Ohio, Washington camps opposite, **1:** 422.
Big Kanhawa. *See* Kanhawa, Big.
Big Kettle, or Broken Kettle. *See* Grand Chaudiere.
Big Salt Lick, Cumberland river, **4:** 101.
Big Sandy Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 424 n, 445.
Big Shoemac town, **4:** 101.
Big Stony Creek, Ohio, **1:** 414, 444.
Biggar (or Biggart), Thomas, **2:** 295, 298.
Billerica, Massachusetts, **4:** 47 n, 48; Washington at, **4:** 47.
Billy. *See* Lee, William.
Bingham, William, of Philadelphia, **3:** 218 n, 229 n, 304; **4:** 289 n, 302; Washington at, **3:** 218, 223, 226, 227,

232, 235; **4:** 289 n; Washington drives with, **2:** 290.
Birchead, Christopher, letter to, **2:** 259 n.
Bird, Thomas, **1:** 376.
Birds, damage corn, **3:** 61, 62, 69, 209, 212; on the Ohio, **1:** 415, 426, 426 n.
Bishop, Thomas, servant, **1:** 117, 117 n; **2:** 456; anxious to return to Mount Vernon, **1:** 144; share of pork, **3:** 151, 281, 287; wife dies, **2:** 453.
Bittern, American, **1:** 426 n.
Black, William, **1:** 276 n; land sold to Washington, **2:** 129, 129 n, 130, 153.
Black, ——, of New York, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 179.
Black gum trees, **2:** 346, 392, 433.
Black haws, **2:** 346; **3:** 34.
Blackburn, Anne, **2:** 64 n, 338 n, 344 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 338, 340; wedding, **2:** 344. *See also* Mrs. Bushrod Washington.
Blackburn, Thomas, colonel, **1:** 145 n; **2:** 64 n; **3:** 9, 145 n; **4:** 3; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 64, 170, 426; **3:** 449; Washington visits, **2:** 188; **3:** 365.
Blackburn, Mrs. Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 127, 192, 139, **2:** 387.
Blackburn, Miss Polly, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 145, 148; **4:** 3.
Blackburn, Richard, of Prince William County, **2:** 128 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 382; Washington at, **2:** 128.
Blackburn, Sarah (Sally), at Mount Vernon; **2:** 333, 334, 387.
Blackburn, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 258, 285, 286, 309.
Blackburn, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 333, 334.
Blacksmith shop, **1:** 251.
Bladensburg, Maryland, **2:** 139, 139 n; **4:** 290 n; Washington at, **2:** 125; **3:** 215, 238; **4:** 152, 152 n, 229, 234, 237, 239, 255, 287.
Blagdin, Samuel, **4:** 284 n.
Blaine, Ephraim, **2:** 337; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 237.
Blair, James, commissary, **1:** 147 n.
Blair, John, president, **1:** 147, 147 n, 200; **3:** 212 n, 237, 238, **4:** 84, 84 n, 85; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 239, 240.
Blake, William, **2:** 378, 378 n.
Bland, Richard, **1:** 335; **2:** 159 n.
Bland, Theodorick, **2:** 39 n; **3:** 94 n; **4:** 13, 13 n, 84, 87, 124; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 94, 95, 96.
Bland, ship, Washington's tobacco shipped in, **1:** 167 n.
Blaze, tree, **1:** 10 n.
Bledsoe Creek, Tennessee, **4:** 80.
Bledsoe Lick, **4:** 101.
Blennerhasset's Island, Ohio River, **1:** 422 n.
Blindenberg, ——, widow, Long Island, Washington at, **4:** 119.
Block Island, Rhode Island, British fleet, **2:** 217, 217 n, 221.
Blodgett, Samuel, colonel, **4:** 47 n.
Bloomery, Shenandoah Valley, **2:** 315, 318; Washington at, **1:** 160.
Bloomery, Forks of Cacapon, **1:** 160, 160 n.
Bloomery Mills, iron, **1:** 138 n.
Bloxam, James, farmer, **3:** 118, 149; advice, **3:** 128; agreement with Washington, **3:** 67, 67 n; arrives at Mount Vernon, **3:** 48; authorized to send to England for a wheelwright, **3:** 137; mistake in levels, **3:** 135; opinion on penning cattle, **3:** 135.
Blue, William K., captain, **4:** 310 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 310.
Blue Bell Tavern, New York, **2:** 244, 244 n.
Blue Ridge Mountains, **1:** 2, 4, 12 n, 150 n; **2:** 318; Washington crosses, **1:** 73 n, 404; **2:** 10, 316, 317.
Bluemont, Blue Ridge Mountains, **1:** 339 n, 400 n.
Blueskin, horse, **2:** 443, 443 n.
Blundel, Thomas, **4:** 171 n.
Boat, Washington's, **1:** 154, 155; **2:** 407, 408, 451; **3:** 28, 29, 48; brings iron from Alexandria, **3:** 5; ferry, **2:** 78; sent to Alexandria, **3:** 4, 5, 117; sent for flagstones, **3:** 46; runs aground, **3:** 5; Washington's belief in mechanical boat, **2:** 283.
Boat Race, Washington at, **2:** 150.

Boggs, ——, **3:** 240.
Boies, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 304.
Bolling, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 257.
Bolling Green. *See* Bowling Green.
Bond, Thomas, physician, **2:** 166 n; Washington visits, **2:** 166.
Bond, ——, **2:** 32.
Bonne & Lawrence, New York merchants, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 272.
Booker, William, **4:** 282 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 282, 283, 286, 287, 309; builds mill for Washington, **4:** 309 n.
Books, purchased by Washington, **2:** 169 n, 198 n.
Booth, William, Westmoreland County, **1:** 185 n, 269 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 174, 380, 386; **3:** 24, 275; Washington at, **1:** 267; **2:** 19, 172.
Bordley, Beale, **3:** 417 n; sends wheat, **3:** 416, 417, 418.
Bordley, Thomas, **2:** 184 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 184.
Boston, Massachusetts, **2:** 252; address to Washington, **4:** 37, 37 n; committee to arrange welcome to Washington, **4:** 32; conflict with state authorities, **4:** 33 n, corps of horse, **4:** 39; dance attended by Washington, **4:** 38; requests Washington to sit for his portrait, **4:** 37; selectmen welcome Washington, **4:** 33, 34 n; Washington at, **4:** 39; Washington's entrance into, **4:** 32, 33, 33 n, 34, 34 n,; Washington's notice of ladies, **4:** 45.
Boston harbor, Washington in, **4:** 38.
Boston Port Bill, **2:** 152 n, 153 n.
Boston, H.M.S. frigate, in the Potomac, **1:** 385, 386; officers at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386; Washington's bull purchased for, **1:** 386, 390; Washington on, **1:** 385.
Bostwick, David, clergyman, **2:** 168.
Bostwick, Mary, **2:** 168 n.
Botanical Garden Mount Vernon, **2:** 410; **3:** 190, 198, 222, 222 n, 333; bird pepper, **2:** 409; exotic plants, **2:** 435; failure of plants in, **3:** 37; fertilizer peas, **3:** 64; guinea grass, **2:** 407, 431; Kentucky grass, **3:** 318, 320; Lombardy poplar, **3:** 354; palmetto, **3:** 34; plantings, **3:** 41, 52, 54; Pride of China seeds, **3:** 42; rhubarb, **3:** 320; scaly bark hickory, **3:** 30.
Botetourt, Norbonne Berkeley, Baron, governor, **1:** 147 n, 297 n; entertains Washington, **1:** 297; dissolves Burgesses; **1:** 325 n, 344 n; horses purchased by Washington; **2:** 19 n; Washington visits, **1:** 297, 298, 352, 353.
Boucher, Jonathan, clergyman, **1:** 274, 274 n, 303, 356, 365, 379, 385 n; **2:** 11, 62, 67, 72, 78; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 320, 356, 357, 385, 388, 389, 453; **2:** 11, 44, 90; school, **1:** 274 n; Washington visits, **1:** 274, 379; **2:** 34, 35, 77, 82, 83, 107; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 77; Washington's letter to, **2:** 67 n.
Boucher, Miss ——, visits Washington, **1:** 392.
Boucherville, —— de, cadet, **1:** 87 n.
Boudinot, Elias, **4:** 71, 71 n, 91, 113, 129.
Boulton, Richard, to do the new room at Mount Vernon, **2:** 378.
Bound Brook, New Jersey, Washington at, **2:** 112, 258.
Boundary, French and Indian controversy, **1:** 402 n.
Bouquet Expedition, Washington's road, **4:** 222, 222 n.
Bourbonnais regiment, French army, **2:** 213 n, 242, 242 n, 257, 259.
Bourdieu, Chollet & Bourdieu, of London, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 315.
Bourg, ——, **4:** 280 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 280.
Bourne, Sylvanus, **4:** 258 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 258.
Bowdoin, James, **4:** 35, 36 n, 39; Washington visits, **4:** 36, 38.
Bowen, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 56, 272, 302.
Bowes, Caven, tailor, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 70.
Bowling Green, Mount Vernon, **1:** 385 n; **2:** 418, 429.

Bowling Green, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 385; **2:** 40 n, 155, 189, 190, 372, 372 n; **3:** 49, 51; **4:** 157.
Boxwood trees, **2:** 373.
Boyd, ——, of Boston, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 300.
Boyd's Hall, Charles County, Md., Washington at, **2:** 20.
Boyd's Hole, Stafford County, **1:** 270 n; Washington at, **1:** 270.
Boyer, —— captain, **1:** 167 n.
Braceo, James, letter to, **2:** 259 n.
Braddock, Edward, Major General, **1:** 75 n, 85 n; **2:** 281 n.
Braddock Road, **1:** 407 n; **2:** 10 n, 281, 281 n, 288 n, 300, 303, 306, 308.
Bradford, David, **4:** 216, 216 n.
Bradford, John, **2:** 169 n.
Bradford, William, **4:** 209 n.
Bradford, Massachusetts, Washington in, **4:** 47.
Bradstreet, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 191.
Brady, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 348.
Brailsford, ——, Englishman, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 106.
Braithwait, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 352.
Brand, of cattle, **1:** 216.
Branton (Branden), Samuel, **3:** 117.
Brazier, Miss Polly, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 29, 37, 41, 106, 118.
Bread, **3:** 116; for French army, **2:** 236.
Bread and Butter ball, **1:** 126.
Breck, Samuel, **4:** 45, 45 n.
Brehan, Marchioness de, **4:** 17; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 441; miniature of Washington, **4:** 14, 14 n.
Brent, Daniel, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 46.
Brent, Daniel C., **3:** 7, 7 n.
Brent, George, of Woodstock, **1:** 125 n, 126, 145 n.
Brent, Giles, captain, **1:** 125 n.
Brent, Henry, **1:** 126, 126 n, 128, 128 n.
Brent, Robert, **1:** 185 n; **2:** 108 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 108.
Brent, Sarah. *See* Mason, Mrs. George.
Brent, William, **2:** 147 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 142.
Brent, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 304.
Brenton's Point, Newport, Rhode Island, French artillery at, **2:** 231.
Brewster, William, tavern, Portsmouth, Washington at, **4:** 43.
Brick, for barn foundation, **3:** 355; kiln, **2:** 334; **3:** 126; laying, **3:** 38, 192, 280, 367, 418; makers, **3:** 336; making, **3:** 77; making, **3:** 154, 329, 335, 339, 349, 357, 360, 376, 377, 387; purchased, **1:** 278; wood, **3:** 295, 301, 417, 418, 428; work, **3:** 39; yard, **2:** 334, 374, 419; Washington at brickyard, **3:** 336, 339, 343, 344, 346, 349, 351, 353, 355, 358, 380.
Brick House, York River, Washington at, **2:** 18, 19, 262, 268, 269.
Brier Mountain, Preston County, West Virginia, **2:** 306, 309.
Bridge Quarter, York, **1:** 172, 183, 184.
Bridge's Creek, Westmoreland, Virginia, **1:** 270.
Brigg's Virginia and Maryland Almanac, **1:** xx.
Brigham, ——, Coventry, Washington at, **4:** 50.
Brindle, ——, **1:** 190, 193.
Brindley, James, **4:** 149 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 35, 36, 160.
Brine, experiment for wheat rust, **2:** 31, 31 n.
Brisco, William, **2:** 385.
Briscoe, ——, physician, **2:** 303.
Bristol, Pennsylvania, Washington at, **2:** 113; **3:** 231.
Broad Creek, Fairfax County, **2:** 148.
Broad Creek, Maryland, **2:** 109, 109 n.
Broadback Island, Ohio River, **1:** 420 n.
Broadstreet. *See* Bradstreet.
Broadwater, Charles, Major, **2:** 157, 186 n.
Brock's Gap, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 314.
Brockenbrough, William, **1:** 185.
Brodie, ——, captain, **2:** 73, 37 n.
Broken Timber Creek, Ohio, **1:** 418, 444; Washington at, **1:** 451.
Bronaugh, Elizabeth, **1:** 387 n; at

Mount Vernon, **1:** 387. *See also* Massey, Mrs. Elizabeth.
Bronaugh, Jeremiah, **1:** 301 n.
Bronaugh, William, captain, **2:** 127 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 127.
Bronx River, New York, **2:** 233, 233 n, 242, 242 n, 245, 250.
Brooke, Robert, map, **1:** 112 n.
Brooke, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 382; **3:** 31, 186, 410.
Brooke, ——, of Prince William, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 369.
Brookfield, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 31.
Brookhaven, Long Island, Washington at, **4:** 118.
Brooklyn, Long Island, **4:** 117; Washington at, **4:** 116, 120.
Brooks, John, major-general, **4:** 32, 32 n, 33.
Broom straw, **3:** 278.
Brother Bucks, Indian, **1:** 79.
Brothers' tavern, Frederick, Washington at, **4:** 201 n.
Brown, Miss Anne, **4:** 13, 58, 58 n, 66.
Brown, B——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 123, 124.
Brown, Miss Frances, **2:** 64 n, 133; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 64, 133, 389, 398.
Brown, Gustavus, physician, **4:** 320 n.
Brown, John, of Providence, **3:** 147 n.
Brown, John, of Virginia, **4:** 77, 77 n, 111, 111 n.
Brown, Richard, clergyman, **2:** 64 n.
Brown, William, physician, **2:** 64 n, 149 n, 340, 446 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 64, 89, 132, 133, 139, 144, 147, 149, 156, 340, 354, 379, 420, 452, 459; **3:** 15, 22, 24.
Brown, Mrs. William, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 120, 127, 139, 149, 192; **4:** 61.
Brown, ——, of Providence, son of John, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 147, 148.
Brown, ——, of Treasury, **4:** 113.
Brown, ——, **1:** 47; **4:** 129.
Brown, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 80, 89, 98; **3:** 432; **4:** 263.
Brownberries, **2:** 342.
Brown's Coffee House, Savannah, Washington at, **4:** 176, 176 n.
Brown's Island. *See* Long Island.
Brown's tavern, New Haven, Washington at, **4:** 25.
Brownsville, Pennsylvania, **1:** 416 n.
Bruce, Andrew, colonel, **2:** 284, 285.
Bruce, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 389; **2:** 184.
Brunettes, comment by Washington, **4:** 45.
Brushey Plains, Long Island, **4:** 118.
Bryan, William, major, **2:** 314, 314 n.
Buchanan, ——, of Maryland, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 320, 321.
Buchanan, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 190.
Buck Tavern, Maryland, Washington at, **4:** 150.
Buck Tavern, Haverford, Penna., **2:** 114 n; Washington at, **2:** 114, 162, 169.
Buckeye tree, **2:** 360.
Buckminster, Joseph, clergyman, **4:** 43, 43 n.
Buckner, Baldwin, **2:** 90 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 114, 115; buys flour from Washington, **2:** 90; Washington visits, **2:** 103 n.
Buckner, Baldwin & John, merchants, **2:** 90 n.
Buckwheat, **3:** 254, 255, 259, 270, 326, 330, 333, 335, 336, 337, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 368, 369, 379, 383, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 404, 406, 407, 409, 413, 415, 416, 448; **4:** 5; condition, **3:** 371; cultivation, **3:** 230; experiment, **3:** 258; as fertilizer, **3:** 330; frosted, **3:** 247; harvest, **3:** 249, 255, 258, 259, 260; method, **3:** 255; sent to Washington, **3:** 143; threshing, **3:** 261, 262.
Buffalo, **1:** 424; killed, **1:** 427; on Great Kanhawa, **1:** 427; on the Ohio, **1:** 443; in West Virginia, **1:** 439; trails, **1:** 420; **2:** 306, 306 n; westward drift, **1:** 424.
Buffalo (Fox Grape Vine Creek, Scalp

or Sculp) Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 432, 440, 440 n, 444.
Bulfinch, Thomas, **4:** 37 n.
Bull's, Frederick, Tavern, Hartford, **4:** 27 n; Washington at, **4:** 27.
Bull, John, **3:** 213 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 214.
Bull, **3:** 66, 129, 425.
Bull Creek, **1:** 439, 444. *See also* Middle Island Creek.
Bull Run, Virginia, **2:** 144, 144 n, 145, 171; survey by Washington, **2:** 145.
Bull Run Mountain, **1:** 4 n, 12 n.
Bullett, Burwell, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 308.
Bullett, Cuthbert, **2:** 142 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 142.
Bullet (Bullitt), Thomas, **1:** 130, 130 n, 185 n; **2:** 142 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 130; **2:** 142.
Bullion's Tavern, New Jersey, **2:** 257, 257 n.
Bulls Ferry, New Jersey, **2:** 215; Wayne's attempt on, **2:** 215 n.
Bullskin plantation, Frederick County, Virginia, **1:** 115 n, 123, 123 n, 317 n, 398 n; lease of Washington's land on, **1:** 318; part sold, **2:** 23 n; smallpox, **1:** 116; tobacco crop, **1:** 167 n; Washington at, **1:** 317; **2:** 144; Washington's tenants, **2:** 144.
Bullstown, Braxton County, West Virginia, **2:** 303, 303 n, 320.
Burbidge, ——, Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 130.
Burch, ——, captain, **1:** 333.
Burd, James, colonel, **1:** 416 n.
Burd's Fort, Pennsylvania, **1:** 416 n.
Burgess, Washington's service as, **1:** 323 n.
Burgesses, election, **1:** 344, 344 n.
Burgoyne, John, lieutenant general, **2:** 230 n, 268 n.
Burke, Aedanus, **4:** 67, 67 n, 105.
Burks Bridge, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 189 n.
Burlington, New Jersey, **2:** 112 n; Washington at, **2:** 112.
Burnaby, Andrew, clergyman, **1:** 4 n, 129 n.
Burnes, David, **4:** 200.
Burnes' tavern, Washington at, **2:** 195, 197, 199.
Burnet, Richard, steward, **3:** 67, 105.
Burr, Aaron, trial, **3:** 22 n.
Burwell, Lewis, colonel, **2:** 82 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 36, 82, 98; Washington visits, **1:** 384; **2:** 58.
Burwell, Lewis, Jr., at Mount Vernon, **2:** 31, 32, 80 n; **4:** 265, 269.
Burwell, Robert, of Williamsburg, **1:** 219, 316 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 291, 292; **4:** 284.
Bush, Philip, innkeeper, **2:** 9 n; Washington at, **2:** 9.
Bush Hill, Philadelphia, **3:** 220 n; Washington at, **2:** 166; **3:** 220, 232.
Bushrod, Mrs. John, **1:** 326, 378; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 326, 326 n, 328, 376, 378.
Bushrod, Hannah, **2:** 66 n. *See also* Washington, Mrs. John Augustine.
Butler, Jane, **1:** 27 n.
Butler, Pierce, **4:** 52, 52 n, 55 n, 82, 94, 115, 133, 171 n, 175; sent theater tickets by Washington, **4:** 55; Washington visits, **4:** 173.
Butler, Mrs. Pierce, illness, **4:** 55.
Butler, William, colonel, **2:** 291.
Butler, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 281 n; share of pork, **3:** 281.
Butter, **1:** 109, 110, 116.
Byrd, John, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 52.
Byrd, Mark, colonel, Washington visits, **1:** 159.
Byrd, Otway, colonel, **4:** 259 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259.
Byrd, William, colonel, of Westover, **1:** 144, 144 n, 189 n; **2:** 130, 130 n; lottery, **1:** 298, 298 n; Washington purchases horses from, **2:** 19 n.
Byrd, William (4th), of Westover, sons, **2:** 67, 67 n, 68, 69.
Byrd, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 71, 72.
Byrns (Burns), John, **2:** 168 n; Washington at, **2:** 168.

C

Cabbages, **3:** 39, 65, 70, 76, 87, 90, 114, 311, 312, 327, 330, 341, 349, 350, 351, 353, 382, 399, 450.
Cabin Point, Potomac River, Washington at, **2:** 19.
Cabot, George, **4:** 41 n.
Cabot, John, **4:** 41 n.
Cacapehon River, **1:** 405 n, 450; **2:** 318; Washington at, **1:** 400 n, 405, 449.
Cacapehon (Capon) Mountain, Virginia, **1:** 342 n; **2:** 314; Washington at, **1:** 342; **4:** 219.
Cadwalader, John, brigadier general, **2:** 111 n; 112 n, 375 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 375, 376; Washington visits, **2:** 111, 167, 196, 199.
Cadwalader, Lambert, **3:** 221 n; **4:** 72, 112, 129.
Cadwalader, Thomas, physician, **2:** 166 n; Washington visits, **2:** 166.
Cadwalader, Miss ——, **3:** 221 n; Washington visits, **3:** 221.
Cadwallader, ——, **1:** 341 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 341.
Cæsar, brig, **2:** 374.
Cæsar, ship, **3:** 69.
Caffry, Anthony, clergyman, **4:** 260 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 260.
Cakes, election, **1:** 301 n.
Callender, Thomas, captain, **2:** 378 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 378.
Calvert, Annie (Nancy), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 181.
Calvert, Benedict, **2:** 44 n, 78, 98 n, 110, 140, 140 n, 147, 412; **3:** 94; **4:** 6 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 44, 105, 108, 116, 118, 143, 144, 173, 184; **3:** 94, 95; death, **3:** 296; Washington at, **2:** 78, 108, 110, 114, 119, 120, 141, 150, 169; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 119.
Calvert, Mrs. Benedict, **2:** 109 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 109.
Calvert, Eleanor (Nelly), **1:** 258 n; **2:** 77, 115 n, 116, 119, 123; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 115, 116, 119, 122, 123; journey to Williamsburg, **2:** 128 n, 132 n; marriage, **2:** 44 n, 140, 140 n. *See also* Custis, Mrs. John Parke.
Calvert, Elizabeth, **2:** 78, 98 n, 160 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 160.
Calvert, George, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 377, 403; **4:** 6, 262, 271, 299, 307; fox hounds lent him by Washington, **4:** 6.
Calvert, Jane (Jenny), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 181.
Calvert, John, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 308, 309.
Calvert, Tracy, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 181.
Calvert, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 143, 150, 181, 182.
Calvert, the Misses, at Mount Vernon, 2: 118.
Cambridge, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 32, 33, 39.
Camden, Charles, Lord, chancellor, **2:** 95 n; opinion on land titles from Indians, **2:** 95.
Camden, South Carolina, **2:** 226 n; abandoned by British, **2:** 226, 227; address to Washington, **4:** 183, 183 n; captured, **4:** 184; Washington at, **4:** 183; Washington's opinion of battle of, **4:** 183.
Cameron, Fairfax County, Virginia, **3:** 14; militia musters, **1:** 283 n, 372; races at, **1:** 283, 283 n, 326; road to Mount Vernon, **3:** 444; Washington at, **1:** 74, 74 n, 283; **3:** 123, 444.
Cameron Run, Fairfax County, **1:** 283 n.
Campbell, Andrew, major, **1:** 6 n; captured at Yorktown, **2:** 266, 266 n; Washington visits, **1:** 6.
Campbell, Arthur, letter from, **4:** 99.
Campbell, Gilbert, comptroller, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 256, 256 n, 310.
Campbell, Joseph, **1:** 63.
Campbell, Matthew, of Alexandria, **2:** 11; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 264, 272, 349, 374, 398; **2:** 11 n, 14, 15, 20, 42, 45, 61, 63, 98, 107, 115, 118, 141,

144; fox hunting with Washington, **2**: 51.
Campbell, Mrs. ——, Williamsburg, Washington at, **1**: 298, 324, 325, 352, 353, 355, 356, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385; **2**: 15 n, 17, 26, 40, 57, 58, 59, 104, 104 n, 132, 151, 152, 158, 159; Washington's expenses, **1**: 385 n; **2**: 59 n; Washington's oyster party at, **1**: 354.
Canada, British expedition expected from, **2**: 225; expedition against, **1**: 81; trade route, 319.
Canadian regiment, Second, **2**: 223 n.
Canal, Pennsylvania, Washington inspects, **4**: 211.
Canal, Potomac Company, **2**: 415, 416.
Candles, **1**: 124; experiment with tallow and spermaceti, **2**: 452, 453.
Canestoga (Mingoes), Indians, **1**: 51, 51 n, 52.
Cannon, John, colonel, **2**: 293 n, 294, 299; **3**: 210, 210 n; agent for Washington, **2**: 293 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 97; Washington at, **2**: 293.
Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, **2**: 293 n.
Canoe, **1**: 6, 7, 44, 426, 429, 435, 437, 438, 442, 443, 449, 485; bound for the Illinois, **1**: 436; at Fort Le Bœuf, **1**: 59, 60; French upset, **1**: 63 n; Indian skill, **1**: 441; Washington's, **1**: 412, 413, 415; Washington's journeys in, **1**: 61, 62, 62 n, 83, 84; **2**: 395, 399, 400, 415.
Canton, China, United States consul, **4**: 86.
Cape Charles, Chesapeake Bay, **2**: 214, 214 n.
Cape François, San Domingo, **2**: 254, 254 n.
Cape Henry, Virginia, **2**: 214, 214 n; lighthouse, **4**: 81, 109; Washington at, **2**: 260.
Cape Verde Islands, letter to Governor, **4**: 93, 93 n.
Cape's Tavern, New York, **2**: 112 n.
Capel, Osgood & Hanbury, letter to, **1**: 336 n.
Capitol Hill, Washington City, **4**: 200 n.
Capitol, United States, site, **4**: 200.
Capon Mountain, West Virginia. *See* Cacapehon Mountain.
Captina (Captema: Fox Grape Vine) Creek, Ohio, **1**: 402 n, 417, 417 n, 418, 436, 437, 444; distance from Fort Pitt, **1**: 446 n; Washington at, **1**: 402, 436, 451.
Cards, **1**: 246, 294 n, 396; **2**: 126 n; game at Mount Vernon, **1**: 369 n; purchased, **2**: 46 n; Washington's gains and losses at, **1**: 246 n, 369 n; **2**: 46 n, 78 n, 90 n.
Carlain (Carlin), William, Washington at, **1**: 336, 336 n, 344, 344 n.
Carleton, Sir Guy, Lord Dorchester, **4**: 137 n, 138, 139.
Carlin, William, tailor, **1**: 364 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 364; **3**: 61.
Carlisle, John, **1**: 247 n.
Carlisle, Pennsylvania, **4**: 210, 218; Washington at church, **4**: 212; Washington at, **4**: 211, 217, 218.
Carlyle, Annie (Nancy), **2**: 141; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 346, 377; **2**: 41, 60, 139, 140, 142, 160.
Carlyle, George, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 142, 174.
Carlyle, John, **1**: 120 n, 126, 294, 346 n; **2**: 98 n; **3**: 55, 56; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 130, 130 n, 137, 138, 174, 257, 272, 278, 304, 348; **2**: 60, 119, 160; Washington visits, **1**: 120, 126, 128, 271, 278; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2**: 95.
Carlyle, Mrs. John (Sarah Fairfax), **1**: 120 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 137, 138.
Carlyle, Sarah (Sally), **1**: 257; **2**: 41, 160 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 294, 302, 329, 334, 346, 364, 377, 387; **2**: 119, 139, 160.
Carlyle, Miss, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 60, 71, 143.
Carmarthen, Lord, **4**: 15 n.
Carmelite Friars, **4**: 106 n.
Carmichael, William, **4**: 107 n, 108, 108 n, 113, 117.
Carnes, William, claim to land, **1**: 400.
Carney, John, **1**: 167 n, 254, 254 n.
Carney's Gut, River Farm, or Neck,

Mount Vernon, **1:** 394, 395; **2:** 27; **3:** 270.
Carolina Road, **1:** 4 n, 336 n; **2:** 317 n.
Carolina, troops, **1:** 81, 92.
Caroline County, Virginia, school in, **1:** 274 n.
Caroline Court House, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 356; **2:** 15, 26, 39, 55, 84, 128, 132.
Carpenters, **1:** 226, 282; **3:** 5, 35, 109, 272, 301, 339, 358; head, **3:** 149; overseer for, **1:** 144; work, **1:** 222, 254, 255, 267; **2:** 28, 141.
Carpenter's (Dunlap's) Creek, **2:** 311, 315.
Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, **3:** 226 n; Congress meets in, **2:** 163 n; Washington attends Agricultural Society meeting at, **3:** 226.
Carr, Overton, **4:** 199.
Carr, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 399; **2:** 90.
Carriage, expense in getting Washington's to Maryland, **2:** 150 n.
Carrington, Edward, colonel, **3:** 22 n; **4:** 159 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 22, 23, 162, 296, 433, 434; **4:** 318; report on feeling in Virginia, **4:** 159.
Carrington's tavern, Wallingford, Washington at, **4:** 26.
Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, **1:** 140, 140 n, 141, 164 n; **4:** 102, 102 n, 109, 124, 128, 306 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 142; land on Potomac and Monocasy, **2:** 398; Washington visits, **2:** 35, 83.
Carroll, Charles, Jr., **4:** 273 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 273.
Carroll, Daniel, of Duddington, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 181, 190, 394; **3:** 367; **4:** 102, 102 n, 153, 153 n, 155 n, 199 n; Commissioner, District of Columbia, **4:** 152.
Carroll, Daniel, Jr., **2:** 98 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 98.
Carroll, John, clergyman, **4:** 102 n, 306 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 306.
Carroll, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 319.
Carroll, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 287, 306.
Carrollsburg, Maryland, **4:** 153, 153 n; jealousy of Georgetown, **4:** 154.
Carrots, **3:** 42, 43, 44, 46, 59, 65, 107, 108, 187, 189, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 207, 276, 277, 279, 282, 343, 344, 345, 349, 350, 351, 352, 354, 358, 363, 375, 376, 379, 380, 382, 384, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456; brought to Mansion House, **3:** 456; crop, **3:** 157, 158; experimental, **3:** 259, 277, 278; failure, **3:** 456; quantity, **3:** 455, 457; seed, **3:** 307, 310.
Carson ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 13.
Carson's —— (Buck Tavern, Pennsylvania), Washington at, **2:** 162, 169 n.
Carter, Anne, **1:** 114 n.
Carter, Charles, of Cleve, **2:** 7 n.
Carter, Charles, of Shirley, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 260, 298, 299, 300.
Carter, Charles, colonel, of Ludlow, **1:** 113 n, 114 n; **2:** 317; **3:** 206, 211, 366; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 194, 356, 357; sends grass seed, **3:** 57, 192; Washington visits, **1:** 114.
Carter, Elizabeth, of Shirley, **2:** 67 n.
Carter, George, **1:** 316, 316 n, 317.
Carter, James, **1:** 22, 22 n, 25, 26.
Carter, John, physician, medicine from, **2:** 15 n; Washington visits, **2:** 40 n.
Carter, Landon, **1:** 113 n; **2:** 460; Washington visits, **1:** 324.
Carter, Lucy. *See* Harrison, Mrs. Nathaniel.
Carter, Robert "King," **1:** 290 n, 316 n.
Carter, Robert, councillor, **1:** 129 n, 150 n; Washington visits, **1:** 352.
Carter, Robert, of Nomoni, **2:** 10 n, 19 n; Washington visits, **2:** 19.
Carter, Robert, estate, **1:** 318 n; Washington's land purchase from, **1:** 278 n, 318.
Carter, ——, of Gloster, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 253.
Carter, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 359.
Carter's Ferry, James River, **4:** 198.
Cartridge boxes, for Prince William Independent Company, **2:** 198 n.
Cary, Archibald, Colonel, **2:** 189 n,

375; seed from, **3**: 41, 44, 58; Washington visits, **2**: 189.
Cary, Elizabeth. *See* Fairfax, Mrs. Bryan.
Cary, Mary, Washington's sweetheart, **1**: 387 n. *See* Ambler, Mrs. Edward.
Cary, Robert & Co., London, **1**: 163 n, 164 n, 320; goods shipped to Washington, **1**: 262, 262 n; Washington's lists and letters to, **1**: 273 n, 336 n, 392 n; Washington's tobacco shipped to, **1**: 167 n, 168.
Cary, Sarah. *See* Fairfax, Mrs. George William.
Cary, William, **3**: 367 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 367.
Cary, Wilson, **1**: 3 n, 131 n.
Cary, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 257, 426.
Cary, ship, Washington's tobacco shipped in, **1**: 168, 169, 170.
Casenove, Theophile, of Holland, **4**: 105 n; introduction to Washington, **4**: 105.
Cassey (Casey?), Peter, Washington at, **1**: 11.
Castiglioni, Luigi, Count, **2**: 460 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 460.
Castleman's Ferry, Shenandoah River, **1**: 340 n.
Castleton, Robert, **1**: 320 n.
Catalpa trees, **2**: 347, 384.
Catawba Indians. *See* Indians.
Cate's Marsh, Virginia, Washington at, **1**: 5, 5 n.
Catfish, **1**: 419.
Catholic churches, in territory south of the Ohio, **4**: 88.
Catholics of United States, address to Washington, **4**: 102, 102 n.
Catoctin, Maryland, **1**: 214 n.
Catoctin Creek, **2**: 402, 403.
Catoctin Mountain, Maryland, **2**: 398.
Cattle, **1**: 132, 183, 184, 209; **3**: 333, 402, 404, 415, 437, 440, 441, 443, 447, 449, 450; branding, **1**: 216; bull traded, **3**: 129; calves, **3**: 413, 414, 415; fattening, **1**: 301; from Frederick, **1**: 108, 117; list of, **3**: 184, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 403; pastured, **3**: 101, 402, 403, 415; pens, **3**: 135, 149; purchased from Washington, **1**: 177; **3**: 77, 386, 390; stall fed, **3**: 149, 158, 284; strayed, **1**: 183.
Causeway (Causey), Virginia, Washington at, **1**: 296, 351.
Cavalry, **2**: 273; French, **2**: 242, 242 n.
Cave, on Ohio River, **1**: 446, 446 n.
Cawsey (Causey), ——, captain, **1**: 136, 136 n.
Cay, ——, plasterer, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 317.
Cayahoga River, **2**: 319, 321, 322.
Caywood, ——, sheriff, **2**: 413 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 413.
Cayenne pepper, **2**: 386.
Cedar berries, **3**: 278.
Cedar Grove, Virginia, **1**: 132 n.
Cedar Point, Potomac River, Maryland, **1**: 155 n, 156 n, 290; Washington at, **1**: 156, 285.
Cedar Run, Virginia, **2**: 317.
Cedar trees, **2**: 347, 399; **3**: 57.
Ceelys, Virginia, **1**: 131 n.
Celeron, ——, Mons, **1**: 49 n.
Cellicoe, Abel, **1**: 381.
Census, first United States, **4**: 92, 92 n, 93; act for Rhode Island, **4**: 134.
Centerville (Newgate), Virginia, Washington at, **2**: 171, 171 n.
Chaloner, John, **3**: 168 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 168.
Chamberlain, James Lloyd, letter to, **2**: 259 n.
Chamberlain, ——, **3**: 363.
Chamberlayne, William, colonel, meeting of Washington and Mrs. Custis at, **2**: 18 n; Washington at, **1**: 156 n.
Chamberlayne, Mrs. William, **2**: 18 n; Washington at, **2**: 18, 86; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2**: 18.
Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, **4**: 214.
Champe, Jane. *See* Washington, Mrs. Samuel.
Champe, John, colonel, **1**: 113 n, 114 n; Washington visits, **1**: 113, 114.
Chaplain, United States House of Representatives, first, **4**: 59 n.
Chapman, Nathaniel, **1**: 138, 138 n.

Chappedelaine, Marquis de, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 304, 305.
Chargé des Affaires, American, **4**: 107.
Chariot, **1**: 290; **2**: 19; **3**: 14, 286, 446; accident to, **2**: 148; broken, **1**: 344; horses, **1**: 269; **3**: 3, 51, 286; ordered from London, **1**: 273 n.
Charles County, Maryland, Washington in, **3**: 131, 132; Washington's land in, **2**: 413; **3**: 127, 131, 132.
Charleston, South Carolina, **2**: 245; **4**: 171, 172, 174; address to Washington, **4**: 104, 104 n, 105; American troops near, **2**: 230; Assembly dance, Washington attends, **4**: 173; British troops arrive at, **2**: 230; concert, Washington attends, **4**: 173; governor's ball attended by Washington, **4**: 173; ladies visit Washington, **4**: 172; Washington at, and opinion of, the defense (1780), **4**: 173.
Charles Town, Maryland, **2**: 195 n; Washington at, **2**: 195; **4**: 237, 239.
Charlestown, Massachusetts, bridge, **4**: 39, 41; Washington at, **4**: 39.
Charlotte, North Carolina, **4**: 183; Washington at, **4**: 185.
Charlotte Court House, Virginia, Washington at, **4**: 197.
Charlottesville, Virginia, British raid at, **2**: 232.
Charlton, Richard, tavern, Williamsburg, **1**: 355 n; **2**: 103 n; Washington at, **1**: 268, 355; **2**: 87 n, 104, 132 n, 153; Washington's account with, **2**: 154 n; account against Mrs. Washington and Miss Calvert, **2**: 132 n.
Charlton, Mrs. Richard, **2**: 15 n; account against Patsy Custis, **2**: 59 n.
Charnock, ——, colonel, **1**: 25, 25 n.
Charon, British frigate, **2**: 252, 265, 265 n.
Chartier's (Shirtee's) Creek, Pennsylvania, **1**: 413, 413 n; **2**: 293, 293 n, 294.
Charton, Henry L., at Mount Vernon, **3**: 29.
Chase, Samuel, **2**: 353 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 354; letter to, **2**: 390; Maryland commissioner on trade relations with Virginia, **2**: 353.
Chastellux, François Jean, Chevalier de, major general, **2**: 217 n; 259, 260; letter to, **3**: 221 n; at Wethersfield conference, **2**: 217; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 260 n.
Chatham, William Pitt, Earl of, Morris's interview with, **4**: 132 n, 133.
Chatham, New Jersey, **2**: 255, 255 n, 256.
Chatham, on the Rappahannock, advertised for sale, **2**: 427 n; Washington at, **3**: 366.
Chatterton Hill, New York, **2**: 234, 234 n.
Chattin's Run, Fauquier County, Virginia, Washington's land on, **2**: 65, 65 n, 145, 145 n, 185, 460; Washington at, **2**: 145.
Chavillie, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 47.
Cheat River, Virginia, **2**: 281, 284, 285, 289, 290, 300, 301, 303, 304, 315, 320, 322, 328, 360, 360 n; **3**: 84; color, **2**: 302; navigation, **2**: 292, 304, 305; Washington crosses, **2**: 302, 304.
Cherokee Country, **1**: 415; warriors' path to, **1**: 425.
Cherokee Indians. *See* Indians.
Cherokee River. *See* Tennessee River.
Cherries, **1**: 145, 146, 199, 200, 210; **2**: 179, 444; grafted, **1**: 258, 355, 356.
Cherry trees, **3**: 24, 25; cut down, **2**: 406; transplanted, **2**: 429; **3**: 13.
Cherry Walk, Mount Vernon, **1**: 200, 210, 211.
Chesapeake Bay, Maryland, **2**: 251, 253, 254; French naval expedition to, **2**: 230, 231; shipping available, **2**: 249; Virginia and Maryland commission on jurisdiction, **2**: 352, 352 n; Washington in danger on, **4**: 150, 151.
Chester, Pennsylvania, **2**: 258; Washington at, **2**: 111, 162, 169, 195; **3**: 215, 237; **4**: 149, 234, 237, 237 n, 239, 254, 288, 290.
Chester County, Pennsylvania, Washington in, **3**: 224.

Chestertown, Maryland, **2:** 111 n; Washington at, **2:** 111; **4:** 150.
Chestnut Mountain, Pennsylvania, **2:** 281 n.
Chestnut trees, **3:** 32.
Chestnuts, **2:** 424; **3:** 52.
Chew, Benjamin, of Philadelphia, **2:** 165 n; Washington visits, **2:** 165; **3:** 218.
Chew, Peggy, **3:** 218.
Chew, Samuel, **2:** 158 n.
Chew, Mrs., ball, **1:** 127.
Chew, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 299.
Chew House, Germantown, **3:** 218 n, 233 n; Washington at, **3:** 233.
Cheyne, Roderick, Petapsco River, **2:** 194 n; Washington at, **2:** 194.
Chichester, Daniel McCarty, **1:** 309 n, 328.
Chichester, Richard, **1:** 133 n, 225, 309 n; **2:** 411, 455 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 265, 279, 309, 317, 334; **2:** 67; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 264, 265, 309, 310; **2:** 2; lends hounds to Washington, **2:** 455; mother, **1:** 309 n; seed from, **3:** 81.
Chichester, Mrs. Richard, **2:** 123 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 123.
Chickamauga, town (Indian), **4:** 100.
Chickamauga Indians. *See* Indians.
Chickasaw Indians. *See* Indians.
Child of Nature, The, play attended by Washington, **4:** 248.
Chimney piece, marble, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 357, 357 n.
Chin, George, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 188.
Chinch bug, **3:** 96, 97.
Chinese seeds, **2:** 392, 393, 404; failure, **3:** 37; given to Washington, **2:** 388; sown, **2:** 388, 389.
Chissels Mines (lead), **2:** 282, 282 n.
Chiswell, John, **1:** 163, 163 n.
Choctaw Indians. *See* Indians.
Choisy, Claude Gabriel, Duc de, brigadier general, **2:** 261.
Chota, Cherokee town, **4:** 78, 79, 99.
Chotank, King George County, Virginia, **1:** 115 n, 125 n, 289, 289 n.
Chovet (Chavet), Abraham, physician, **3:** 226 n; Washington attends his anatomical show, **3:** 226.
Christ Church, Alexandria, **1:** 120, 131 n. *See also* Alexandria, Church.
Christ Church, Philadelphia, **2:** 166 n; alarm at, **4:** 248; Washington at, **2:** 166, 168; **4:** 248.
Christian, ——, dancing-master, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 368, 377, 378, 381, 387, 397; Patsy Custis' entry to dancing school, **1:** 373 n.
Christiana (town, bridge, ferry), Delaware, **2:** 162 n; Washington at, **2:** 162, 195 n, 258, 258 n; **3:** 237; **4:** 149, 234, 238, 239, 242, 288, 290.
Christmas, **1:** 29; firewood for, **2:** 458; **3:** 284.
Church, ——, **1:** 23.
Church, Calvinist, Philadelphia, **3:** 226.
Church, on Washington's land, **3:** 22; panic at, **3:** 66; Washington's attendance at various churches, **1:** 24, 24 n, 120, 127, 157, 159, 264, 265, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 277, 278, 285, 288, 290, 291, 295, 299, 300, 309, 313, 321, 326, 328, 335, 342, 343, 353, 365, 369, 371, 378, 384, 386, 392, 393, 453, 454; **2:** 5, 14, 18, 18 n, 22, 28, 45, 61, 63, 66, 68, 71, 73, 78, 80, 90, 107, 115, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 126, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 166, 167, 168, 170, 182, 198; **3:** 125, 219, 224, 261, 325, 326, 366, 436; **4:** 14, 25, 35, 43, 50, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 65, 68, 73, 83, 86, 92, 93, 102, 106, 108, 110, 114, 126, 135, 174, 203, 247, 252, 260, 285, 306, 412; Washington subscribes to, **4:** 253 n.
Churn, dairy, **3:** 363.
Cider, **1:** 133, 134, 187, 201, 202, 289, 293; **3:** 407, 410; casks, **1:** 267.
Cincinnati, Society of the, **2:** 339 n; diplomas, **2:** 339, 430, 455; **3:** 205; eagle medal, **2:** 341, 341 n; General Meeting's address to Washington, **4:** 128, 128 n; president, **2:** 339 n; Washington dines with, **3:** 217;

Georgia Chapter, Washington dines with, **4**: 176; Massachusetts Chapter, address to Washington, **4**: 37, 37 n; Pennsylvania Chapter, Washington dines with, **3**: 226; South Carolina Chapter, Washington dines with, **4**: 173.
Cipher, letters in, **2**: 247, 247 n; secret intelligence, **2**: 214 n.
City Hotel, Annapolis, **4**: 151 n; Washington at, **4**: 151.
City Point, James River, Virginia, **2**: 223, 223 n.
City Tavern, Philadelphia, farewell dinner of Constitutional Convention delegates, **3**: 237; Light Horse entertains Washington, **3**: 236; Washington at, **2**: 195, 196, 197, 198, 199; **3**: 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 227, 232, 236, 237; weekly dinners of Congress delegates at, **2**: 195 n. *See also* New Tavern.
Claiborne, P., **2**: 86 n; Washington at, **2**: 86.
Claiborne's Ferry, New Kent, **1**: 158 n.
Claiborne's Pamunky River, Washington at, **1**: 156, 156 n, 266, 269, 269 n; Washington's plantation at, **1**: 171.
Claragan, ——, of Alexandria, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 179.
Clare, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 358.
Clark, Lardin, letter from, **4**: 88.
Clarke, George Rogers, brigadier general, **2**: 225, 225 n, 226.
Clarke, Deborah, **1**: 131 n. *See also* Fairfax, Deborah Clarke.
Clarke, Gedney, major, **1**: 22, 22 n, 23, 24, 25, 26; Mrs. Gedney Clarke, **1**: 23, 25.
Clarke, ——, fox hunting with Washington, **1**: 309.
Clark's Tavern, Virginia, Washington at, **2**: 372.
Clarkstown, West Virginia, **2**: 303, 304.
Clarmont, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 279.
Clay, Joseph, **4**: 176 n.
Cleesh, Virginia, **4**: 303 n.
Clergy, of Boston, visit Washington, **4**: 36.
Clergyman (Dutch), at Mount Vernon, **2**: 89.
Cleve, Rappahannock River, **1**: 113 n, 114 n.
Cleveland, Alexander, ploughs purchased from, **2**: 69 n.
Cleveland, James, **1**: 332, 332 n; **2**: 188, 188 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 137, 188; team, **1**: 376; wagon, **1**: 381.
Clifton, William, **1**: 147, 186, 349; accounts, **1**: 141 n; affair, **1**: 143, 144; character, **1**: 135, 137; claims against, **1**: 163 n; land, **1**: 140; **2**: 412; land purchased by Washington, **1**: 125, 125 n, 128, 128 n, 130, 132, 135, 137, 139, 140, 164 n, 245 n; **3**: 173; land sold by court, **1**: 163; Washington at, **1**: 128.
Clifton, William, **4**: 311 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 311.
Clifton's, of Chotank, **1**: 125 n.
Clifton's Neck, Washington fox hunting in, **1**: 368. *See also* River Farm.
Clinton, Miss Cornelia, **4**: 53.
Clinton, DeWitt, governor, **2**: 209 n.
Clinton, George, governor, **2**: 209 n, 216 n, 343, 343 n, 356 n; **4**: 17, 17 n, 55 n, 65, 111; at Flatbush, **4**: 18, 19 n; interview with Washington, **2**: 229; letter from, **2**: 247, 247 n; sends trees, **2**: 343; Washington's payment of debt to, **2**: 356, 356 n; Washington visits, **4**: 55, 59.
Clinton, Mrs. George, Washington visits, **4**: 130.
Clinton, James, brigadier general, **2**: 209, 209 n, 228 n; letters from, **2**: 216, 216 n, 219, 219 n, 223, 228, 247; orders to, **2**: 230.
Clinton, ——, **4**: 221.
Clish, Colvill plantation, **1**: 214 n.
Cloth, earliest manufacture in United States, **4**: 247 n.
Clothes, for the Washington family, **1**: 273 n; purchased, **2**: 220; Washington's broadcloth suit from Hartford, **4**: 27, 27 n.
Clothes mangle, Franklin's, Washington inspects, **3**: 235.
Clothing, captured by British, **2**: 236;

for Mount Vernon servants, **2:** 445.
Cluning, ——, overseer, **1:** 183.
Clymer, George, **3:** 221 n; **4:** 72, 111; Washington visits, **3:** 221, 223, 228.
Coachman, danger to Washington's, **4:** 151.
Coal, **1:** 133; purchased, **2:** 83 n; Washington visits mine, **1:** 408, 408 n.
Cobb, David, general, **4:** 36, 36 n
Cobb nuts, planted, **2:** 375.
Cochran, ——, South Carolina, **4:** 171 n; Washington at, **4:** 168.
Cockburn, Sir Alexander, **1:** 300 n.
Cockburn, Sir George, **1:** 300 n.
Cockburn, James, physician, **1:** 300 n.
Cockburn, Martin, **1:** 300 n, 301, 301n; **2:** 350; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 300, 322, 455; **2:** 170, 182, 349; **3:** 180.
Cocke, Catesby, colonel, **1:** 112 n, 132.
Cocke, John, **1:** 354 n; Washington at, **1:** 354.
Cocke, William, **1:** 112 n.
Cockerly, ——, Maryland, **4:** 202; Washington at, **4:** 202.
Cockfight, **1:** 36.
Cod-fishing, Washington tries, **4:** 44.
Coddy, ——, Washington at, **1:** 12.
Codley (Caudley), ——, **1:** 400 n; Washington at, **1:** 400, 404.
Coffee, sent Washington, **3:** 117.
Cogswell, Nathaniel, **2:** 219 n; Washington at, **2:** 219.
Coinage, Jefferson's report on, **4:** 114, 114 n.
Coins, copper, offered to United States, **4:** 114 n.
Coke, Thomas, clergyman, **2:** 379 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 379.
Colbert, —— de, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Colchester, Virginia, **1:** 349, 366, 367, 378; **2:** 13, 22, 50, 317 n, 354; **3:** 120; accident to Washington at ferry, **4:** 156; established, **1:** 309 n; ice in river, **1:** 312; Washington at, **1:** 163, 163 n, 266 n, 393, 394, 396, 454; **2:** 5, 7, 12, 15, 56, 79, 84, 128, 188, 317; **3:** 365; Washington's schooner at, **1:** 227.
Colchester Road (Virginia), **1:** 12 n.
Cold Spring Club, Springettsbury Manor, **3:** 225 n; Washington at, **3:** 225, 227, 228, 229, 234, 235.
Cold Water Creek, **4:** 80.
Colden, Elizabeth, **2:** 113 n.
Coleman, Reid, Fairfax County, Ordinary, **1:** 378; **2:** 10 n; Washington at, **1:** 137, 137 n, 159, 159 n, 161, 178, 379, 385 n.
Coleman, Richard, **1:** 137, 137 n, 139.
Coles, Isaac, **4:** 61, 61 n, 91, 91 n; **4:** 196 n; Washington at, **4:** 196, 197.
College Creek, Williamsburg, Virginia, troops landing at, **2:** 261.
College Hall, Philadelphia, **3:** 217 n; Washington at, **3:** 217.
Collins, John, Washington at, **1:** 11.
Collins, John, governor, **4:** 82 n; letter from, **4:** 82.
Colonies, Middle, map of, **2:** 326.
Colonies, opposition to Ministerial measures, **1:** 325 n.
Colors (flags), purchased for Prince William Independent Company, **2:** 186 n.
Columbia, South Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 181, 182.
Columbia Hotel, Chester, **3:** 215 n.
Columbus (drama), **4:** 250 n; play attended by Washington, **4:** 250.
Colvill, John, **1:** 214 n, 283 n; estate, **1:** 110; will, **1:** 124 n.
Colvill, Thomas, colonel, **1:** 214 n; **2:** 52, 53; accounts, **2:** 49 n; estate, **1:** 334; **2:** 46, 51, 52 n; 316; **3:** 63, 140; executorship, **3:** 434, 452; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 245; land sold, **1:** 246; negroes sold, **1:** 235; wheat from, **1:** 214.
Colvill, Mrs. Thomas, **2:** 51.
Commissary wagons, **2:** 256.
Commissioners of Federal City, business with, **4:** 235.
Commissioners, to insurgents in Western Pennsylvania, report, **4:** 209, 209 n.
Committee of Safety, Western insur-

rection, **4:** 212 n; effort to prevent the advance of troops, **4:** 212, 213, 214, 215.
Compoint (Campoint, Campion), **3:** 139, 139 n; accompanies Lafayette's asses from Malta, **3:** 138, 139 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 138, 139, 142; gratuity to, **3:** 142; letter to, **3:** 139 n.
Conestoga Wagon (Philadelphia Inn), **2:** 196 n; Congress committee at, **2:** 196 n; Washington at, **2:** 196.
Congregational Church, Brattle Street, Boston, Washington at, **4:** 35, 35 n.
Congregational Clergy, New Haven, address to Washington, **4:** 24, 24 n.
Congress, Colonial, recommended by Virginia, **2:** 152 n.
Congress, Continental, FIRST — convenes, **2:** 163 n; dinner to, **2:** 168 n; door-keepers tipped by Washington, **2:** 169 n; entertained, **2:** 164 n; Virginia delegates, **2:** 159 n; Washington's journey to, **2:** 162; Washington at, 163, 163 n, 166, 167, 167 n, 168; SECOND — Britain's refusal to enter into a commercial treaty with, **4:** 16 n; committees, **2:** 196, 196 n, 198, 198 n, 199, 199 n; convenes, **2:** 194 n; delegates weekly dinners, **2:** 195 n; powers, **2:** 381 n; sends for report of embarkation commissioners, **2:** 411 n; Virginia delegates, **2:** 190 n; Washington a delegate to, **2:** 192 n.
Congress, United States, acts sent to President by a committee, **4:** 92 n; ceremonial of delivery of President's first annual message, **4:** 68, 68 n; committee calls on President, **4:** 66 n; compensation increase, **4:** 87 n; election, **4:** 6, 303, 303 n; President's first annual message to, **4:** 65, 65 n, 66, 67, 68; quorum, **4:** 66.
Connecticut, commissioners to furnish beef to army, **2:** 234 n; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 219; inhabitants dislike Sunday traveling, **4:** 50; legislature, **2:** 228; powder loan from, **2:** 219; specie tax, **2:** 248, 248 n; troops, **2:** 214, 231, 255; militia, **2:** 228, 242, 248, 252; Continental line, **2:** 246; pay, **2:** 247, 248; Washington's circular letter to, **2:** 219; Washington's comment on the country, **4:** 22, 26, 27, 49, 50.
Connellsville, Pennsylvania, **1:** 402 n; **2:** 281 n; coalfields, **1:** 408 n.
Connely, John, **4:** 171 n.
Connolly (Kennelly), John, physician, **1:** 150, 150 n, 447 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 447.
Conotocarious (Indian name of George Washington), **1:** 79, 79 n.
Constitution, United States, agreed to in convention, **3:** 236; amendments, **1:** xiv; **4:** 87, 87 n, 94, 94 n; amendments adopted, **4:** 103, 104, 111, 112; election for adoption of, **3:** 312; ratifications, **3:** 379; **4:** 69, 69 n, 82 n; signed, **3:** 236–37.
Constitutional Convention, United States, **1:** xix; **3:** 212 n, 216; committee on style and arrangement, **3:** 229, 232; concluded, **3:** 236; delegates, **3:** 212 n; dinner of members, **3:** 222; doorkeepers, **3:** 219; farewell dinner of delegates, **3:** 237; journal, **3:** 237 n; organized, **3:** 219; papers, **3:** 237, 237 n; Rhode Island's refusal to send delegates, **3:** 221; rules for governing, **3:** 220; secrecy, **3:** 220, 220 n; Washington's diary of attendance, **3:** 214 n.
Consuls, United States, **4:** 115, 122, 122 n, 126, 128; Jefferson on, **4:** 107, 107 n.
Contee, Benjamin, **4:** 102, 102 n, 129.
Contee, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 108, 109.
Contrecoeur, ——, captain, **1:** 75, 75 n, 76, 76 n, 78, 78 n, 88, 92, 96.
Convalescents, British, **2:** 272.
Convention troops, **2:** 222, 222 n.
Convict ship, **1:** 320.
Conway Cabal, **2:** 111 n, 164 n; **3:** 229 n.
Conway, Richard, of Alexandria, **2:** 14 n, 127 n, 382 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 14, 55, 127, 382; **3:** 100, 279, 311; Washington borrows from, **4:** 7.

Conway, Mrs. Richard, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 280.
Conway, Thomas, mayor-general, duel, **2:** 111, 112.
Conyers, William, **4:** 171 n.
Cook, John, colonel, **2:** 294; **3:** 196 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 149; **3:** 196.
Cook, ——, physician, **4:** 281.
Cool Spring, District of Columbia, **4:** 200, 200 n.
Cooley, Patrick, Richmond innkeeper, **2:** 189 n; Washington at, **2:** 189.
Coolidge, Mrs. Nathaniel, Watertown, **4:** 48 n; Washington at, **4:** 48.
Cooper River, South Carolina, **4:** 170.
Coosa River, **4:** 99, 100, 101.
Copan, William, **2:** 160 n.
Copley, John Singleton, **2:** 64 n.
Copley, ——, English manufacturer, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 298.
Coram, Long Island, **4:** 118, 118 n, 119.
Corbett, Thomas, **4:** 171 n.
Corbin, Francis, **3:** 89, 215, 215 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 89, 90.
Corbin, Miss Lettice, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 271.
Corbin, Richard, colonel, **1:** 86, 86 n, 271; **2:** 388.
Corbin, Thomas, **2:** 388; introductory letter to Washington, **2:** 388 n.
Corn, **1:** 127, 128, 187, 188, 217, 238, 339, 347; **3:** 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 128, 129, 131, 140, 141, 142, 156, 161, 162, 165, 171, 175, 176, 190, 196, 198, 202, 204, 206, 213, 264, 265, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 312, 316, 324, 325, 326, 332, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 372, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 380, 381, 382, 383, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 409, 410, 413, 414, 422, 427, 437, 440, 447, 448, 450, 452, 453, 455, 456, 457, 458; burnt, **2:** 404; **3:** 421; condition, **1:** 394, 395; **2:** 409, 428; cultivation, **1:** 395; **3:** 63, 64; crop, **1:** 168, 169, 171, 301, 311; **2:** 458; **3:** 125, 136, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 265, 285; damaged by birds, **3:** 209, 212; damaged by bugs, **2:** 405; **3:** 96, 97; damaged by drought, **4:** 283; dying, sample given Washington, **4:** 45; experimental, **3:** 58, 68; fences, **1:** 310; field measurement, **1:** 265; ground, **1:** 188, 263, 275, 279, 318, 327, 331, 332, 370; for hogs, **3:** 276, 277, 285, 448; house, **1:** 255, 262; house burnt, **3:** 176; Indian, **1:** 331; **3:** 259, 260, 431, 450; meal yield, **3:** 181; measuring, **3:** 284, 452, 456, 457, from New York, **2:** 352; overheated, **3:** 35, 37; observation of, **1:** 395; overseers' shares, **2:** 458; planting and replanting, **1:** 236, 237, 238, 239, 270, 323, 375; **2:** 16, 23, 31, 35, 377; **3:** 23, 48, 72, 73, 74, 75, 381; purchased, **1:** 107, 121, 121 n; shipped to Madeira, **2:** 127 n; sold by Washiugton, **2:** 73 n; stocks demolished, **1:** 262; supply exhausted, **3:** 116; swamp, **3:** 80, 81; unfit for climate, **3:** 128; from York River, **1:** 165; **3:** 29, 341, 360, 363.
Cornell, Ezekiel, **2:** 208 n; inspection tour, **2:** 208.
Cornwallis, Charles Earl, lieutenant-general, **2:** 223 n, 246, 260 n, 269, 269 n; arrives at Yorktown and Gloucester, Virginia, **2:** 255; at Portsmouth, **2:** 246; at Richmond, **2:** 332; attempt to surprise Virginia legislature, **2:** 232; junction with Arnold, **2:** 223; rear guard action with Lafayette, **2:** 234; retreat, **2:** 234, 245, 254; surrender, **2:** 223 n; surrender correspondence, **2:** 268 n, 269 n; in Virginia, **2:** 209, 225, 226; Wayne's victory over, **2:** 245, 245 n.
Corse, John, captain, **2:** 186 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 186.
Cortlandt, Philip Van, colonel, **2:** 250, 250 n, 253.

Coslay, John, **4:** 278 n.
Cottineau de Kloguene, Denis Nicholas, captain, **4:** 263 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Cotton manufactory (Cabot's), Washington describes, **4:** 41.
Cotton seeds, **3:** 60.
Councils of war, **1:** 76, 107 n; French, **2:** 224.
Counterfeit, protection against, **4:** 74.
Court, at Alexandria, Washington attends, **1:** 127, 140, 246, 265, 273, 284, 291, 299, 303, 313, 321, 329, 335, 345, 349, 366, 369, 373, 388, 393; **2:** 5, 11, 14, 30, 32, 34, 41, 61, 64, 68, 75, 79, 80, 84, 90, 102, 121, 125, 127 n, 133, 139.
Courtlandt, Peter, **2:** 272.
Courtlandt, Pierre Van, interview with Washington, **2:** 229.
Courts, William, **2:** 5 n; Washington at, **2:** 5.
Courts, United States, established, **4:** 13 n; judges, marshals, etc., **4:** 13.
Courtyard, Mount Vernon, **2:** 375, 410, 411.
Couster, ——, **4:** 176.
Coventry, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 50.
Coverdale, Norrison, captain, **1:** 167 n.
Cow Chase, The, poem, **2:** 215 n.
Cowpens, **3:** 68, 109, 111, 113, 131, 183, 211.
Cowper's Mill, Dismal Swamp, **1:** 194.
Cowper's tavern, Delaware River, **4:** 248.
Cows, **2:** 443, 444; **3:** 281; milch at Mansion House, **3:** 60. *See also* Cattle, list.
Cox, Mrs. Presley, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 72, 74, 75, 75 n.
Cox, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 74, 137.
Cox, ——, Mr. and Mrs. at Mount Vernon, **2:** 149.
Coxe, B. Heppesley, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 302.
Cox's Fort, Virginia, **1:** 405, 405 n, 406, 449.
Cox's Hill, New York, **2:** 238, 238 n, 239; British fort on, **2:** 238, 243, 244.
Crab-apple trees, **1:** 297; **2:** 338, 347, 373, 392, 454; **3:** 137; **4:** 101.
Crabtree Branch, Neck plantation, **2:** 32.
Cradlers, **1:** 227, 276, 276 n, 277, 279, 280, 281, 332, 333; **2:** 72; **3:** 86, 89, 91, 243, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 394; instructor for, **4:** 278, 278 n.
Cradling, **1:** 337; **2:** 27; **3:** 82; rate, **1:** 338, 339.
Craig, Charles, tenant, **1:** 123, 123 n, 166 n.
Craig, James, clergyman, **2:** 123 n.
Craig, Mrs. James, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 123.
Craig, ——, of Alexandria, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 280.
Craig, James, physician, **1:** 74 n, 109 n, 115, 116, 117, 401, 450; **2:** 9, 34, 38, 160 n, 161 n, 280, 293, 300, 313, 341, 410, 413; **3:** 12, 15, 69, 169; **4:** 320 n; accompanies Washington on Ohio tour, **2:** 279, 285, 287, 400, 402, 404, 405, 406, 412; at Fort Pitt, **1:** 409; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 115, 372, 400; **2:** 6, 8, 13, 21, 29, 37, 38, 41, 51, 117, 121, 133, 134, 143, 146, 160, 161, 170, 173, 181, 186, 187, 187 n, 188, 191, 333, 362, 364, 386, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411, 412, 413, 417, 420, 427, 428, 433, 445; **3:** 14, 32, 33, 43, 54, 56, 57, 61, 68, 80, 87, 88, 89, 93, 98, 105, 108, 110, 111, 116, 117, 122, 136, 141, 143, 147, 149, 167, 177, 187, 202, 204, 213, 270, 275, 289, 294, 301, 345, 346, 353, 384, 397, 429, 440, 441, 443, 444; **4:** 4, 272, 275, 276, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 290, 291, 299, 300, 303, 306, 311, 312, 314, 316, 318; letter, **4:** 255 n; letter to, **1:** 109; sends seeds, **2:** 388; Washington visits, **3:** 311, 331; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **4:** 281.
Craik, Annie (Nancy), **3:** 72; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 57, 172, 178, 198, 288, 391, 441.
Craik, George Washington, **4:** 269 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 269, 270, 272, 282, 285, 291, 299, 303, 305, 309, 310, 312,

316; Washington's offer to help educate, **2:** 410.
Craik, Mrs. James (Marianna Ewell), **1:** 108; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 186, 187; **3:** 242, 345, 353, 414, 415; **4:** 262, 263.
Craik, James, Jr., physician, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 412, 461; **3:** 11, 63, 172, 174, 279, 302, 337, 391.
Craik, Miss Jenifer, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 198.
Craik, Miss Marianne, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 172, 178, 288.
Craik, Sarah (Sally), **2:** 161 n; 187 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 242; wedding, **2:** 337.
Craik, William, **2:** 300, 426; accompanies Washington on the Ohio journey, **2:** 279 n, 285, 287; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 333, 341, 342, 387, 388, 426, 435; **3:** 12, 56, 57, 78, 100, 107, 108, 138, 140, 166, 198, 241, 288, 289, 341, 375, 456; **4:** 284, 303, 305, 309, 311, 312, 316.
Craik, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 410.
Craik, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 57, 96, 107, 408, 414, 415.
Cramer, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 446.
Crawford, James, governor, **4:** 287.
Crawford, Valentine, **1:** 151, 151 n, 160, 317 n, 344 n, 400, 435; **2:** 43; affairs, **3:** 57; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 278, 318, 335; **2:** 6, 7, 20, 33, 38, 43, 44, 90, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 146, 279, 280; dines with Washington, **1:** 343; goes with settlers for Washington's Ohio lands, **2:** 146, 146 n; wagon for Washington's goods, **1:** 344; Washington visits, **1:** 317, 344, 405.
Crawford, William, colonel, **1:** 160 n, 278, 344 n, 402 n, 429; **2:** 9 n, 38, 85, 86, 296, 301 n, 302; **3:** 57 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 259, 264, 315, 315 n, 367, 379; **2:** 37, 141, 143; instructions for surveying the lands granted Virginia officers, **2:** 9, 9 n; money sent to, **2:** 122 n; payments to, **1:** 449 n; **2:** 38 n; scheme for iron works, **1:** 160; surveys of western lands, **2:** 37, 37 n, 39 n, 84, 84 n, 294, 301; Washington visits, **1:** 402, 407, 408, 409, 449, 452; Washington's land near, **1:** 402; with Washington, **1:** 412, 432, 438.
Crawford, ——, of Maryland, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 425.
Crawford, ——, major, of South Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 184, 185.
Crawford, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 345, 346.
Crawford, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 23.
Crawley, Charles, **4:** 171 n.
Creek Indians. *See* Indians.
Cresap, Thomas, colonel, **1:** 7 n, 401 n, 406; **2:** 286 n; Washington at, **1:** 7, 73 n, 75, 75 n, 401, 405, 449, 452; **2:** 286.
Crillon-Mahon, Louis de Berton des Balbes de Quiers, Duc de, **2:** 433, 433 n.
Crimes, against United States, Act for punishment of, **4:** 123, 123 n.
Crips, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 276.
Crittenden, John J., **4:** 114 n.
Croftan, ——, captain, **1:** 23, 23 n.
Croghan, George, colonel, **1:** 100, 100 n, 101, 150 n, 402 n, 447; Indian interview at, **1:** 423; influence with the Indians, **1:** 402 n; land on Monongahela, **1:** 413; place, **1:** 410; Washington visits, **1:** 402, 410, 411; with Washington, **1:** 412.
Crompond, New York, **2:** 255, 255 n.
Crook, John, **1:** 399; tobacco rent, **1:** 166 n, 167 n.
Crook, William, **1:** 380, 381.
Crops, failure, **4:** 7.
Cross, George, **4:** 171 n.
Cross Creeks, Ohio River, **1:** 414, 414 n, 415, 439, 440, 444; Washington at, **1:** 451.
Croton Point, New York, **2:** 232, 236.
Croton River, New York, **2:** 213 n, 233; British barbarity at, **2:** 213, 213 n, 214, 215; American loss at, **2:** 215.
Crown Point, New York, **2:** 219, 219 n; British at, **2:** 223, 228.
Crows Town (Indian), **4:** 100.
Crump, Turner, **1:** 178, 178 n, 254, 254 n.

Culpeper, Catherine, **1:** 128 n, 290 n.
Culpeper County, Virginia, **1:** 150, 150 n.
Culpeper Court House, Washington at, **2:** 316.
Culpeper grants, **1:** 128 n.
Culper, Samuel, Jr., **2:** 208 n, 214.
Culper, Samuel, Sr. *See* Woodhull, Abraham.
Cultivation (harrowing, hoeing, etc.), **1:** 152, 154, 155, 178, 330, 331, 332, 351; **2:** 23, 24, 27, 364; **3:** 33, 34, 35, 48, 52, 56, 58, 65, 67, 74, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 90, 96, 100, 101, 104, 107, 113, 114, 115, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 172, 178, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 193, 194, 196, 200, 206, 209, 212, 213; 293, 294, 311, 314, 316, 317, 319, 327, 332, 334, 341, 342, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 363, 364, 367, 368, 369, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 390, 391, 392, 397, 398, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 413, 414, 416, 417, 418, 419.
Cumberland, Maryland, **4:** 220, 222; Washington at, **4:** 219, 220.
Cumberland Court House, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 198.
Cumberland Gap, **4:** 101.
Cumberland Mountains, **4:** 78, 99.
Cumberland settlements, **4:** 80.
Cumberland (Shawna) River, **1:** 443, 443 n, 446, 446 n; **4:** 80; land on, **1:** 447, 448.
Cumberland Road, **2:** 281 n.
Cunningham, ——, of West Indies, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 423, 424.
Curratuck Inlet, North Carolina, **1:** 193.
Currin, Barnaby, **1:** 43, 44, 60.
Curtis, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 190, 192.
Curwen, Samuel, journal, **2:** 195 n.
Cushing, Thomas, **2:** 165 n, 428, 428 n, 454; letter to, **2:** 428 n.
Cushing, William, **4:** 82, 85, 85 n, 91.
Cussewago, Indian town, **1:** 58 n.
Custis, Daniel Parke, **2:** 18 n; **3:** 29.
Custis, Mrs. Daniel Parke (Martha Dandridge), meets Washington, **1:** 156 n; **2:** 18 n; mother, **1:** 156 n. *See also* Washington, Mrs. George.
Custis, Eleanor (Nelly) Parke, **1:** 258 n; **2:** 355, 358, 358 n, 386, 387, 391, 406, 413, 419; **3:** 5, 6, 26, 72, 120, 124, 125, 128, 142, 143, 150, 269, 318; **4:** 58, 58 n, 68 n, 71 n, 83 n, 92 n, 93 n, 94 n, 102 n, 106 n, 110 n, 112 n, 113 n, 115 n, 125 n, 128 n, 129 n, 135 n, 142 n, 254 n; harpsicord, **4:** 269, 272, 276, 278, 281; and Charles Carroll, Jr., **4:** 273 n; medical attention to, **4:** 257; music teacher for, **4:** 278 n; wedding, **4:** 298 n, 299.
Custis, Elizabeth (Eliza, Betsy) Parke, **1:** 258 n; **2:** 333 n; **3:** 129; **4:** 274 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 333, 349, 355, 364, 379, 387, 413; **3:** 5, 9, 88, 120, 124, 150, 191, 296, 300, 303, 305.
Custis, George Washington Parke, **1:** 258 n; **2:** 413; **3:** 124, 125, 128, 323; **4:** 58, 58 n, 68 n, 71 n, 83 n, 92 n, 93 n, 94 n, 102 n, 106 n, 110 n, 112 n, 113 n, 115 n, 125 n, 128 n, 129 n, 135 n, 142 n, 273 n, 319; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 355, 358, 386, 387; **3:** 5, 6, 26, 72, 134; **4:** 261, 272, 282; clothing for, **2:** 412; goes to St. Johns College, **4:** 272; horse for, **3:** 286; illness, **2:** 372; **3:** 87; Pine's picture of, **2:** 461; tutor for, **3:** 67.
Custis, John, estate, **1:** 157 n.
Custis, John Parke, **1:** 258 n, 266, 303, 310, 317, 320, 353, 354, 356, 363, 365, 388, 389, 397, 453, 454; **2:** 11, 20, 25, 34 n, 43, 62, 67, 70, 71, 72, 82, 82 n, 84, 84 n, 86, 87, 106, 107, 110, 126 n, 128, 130, 132 n, 137, 140, 147, 150, 158, 160, 183, 186, 233 n; **3:** 341; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 11, 20, 25, 36, 41, 61, 64, 66, 70, 76, 83, 90, 101, 105, 107, 126, 132, 134, 139, 154, 182, 188; with wife at Mount Vernon, **2:** 143, 148, 150, 156, 173, 173 n, 181, 191; clothes for, **1:** 273 n; death, **2:** 273; escorts Miss Calvert home, **2:** 132 n; estate, **1:** 258 n; **2:** 128 n, 377; **3:** 316, 351, 434, 443; farm purchased

for, **2:** 18 n, 129 n, 130, 130 n; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 258, 308, 361, 362, 363; **2:** 37, 42, 44, 62, 126, 134, 139, 182, 185; goes to King's College, N.Y., **2:** 110 n, 112, 113 n; knife for, **1:** 273; marriage, **2:** 44 n, 140, 140 n; miniature for, **2:** 65 n; plantation near Williamsburg, **2:** 86 n; portrait by Peale, **2:** 137 n; school books for, **1:** 336 n; tuition paid, **1:** 385 n; Washington at wedding of, **2:** 140.

Custis, Mrs. John Parke (Eleanor Calvert), marriage to Dr. Stuart, **2:** 35 n.

Custis, Martha (Patsy), **1:** 178, 258 n, 264, 266, 328, 333, 342, 343, 348, 353, 354, 362, 373, 388, 389, 391; **2:** 4, 5, 15, 15 n, 20, 29, 33, 38 n, 40 n, 41, 50, 55, 63, 70, 71, 74, 75, 75 n, 76, 77, 84, 84 n, 86, 87 n, 103 n, 104 n; death and burial, **2:** 115, 115 n, 116, 116 n; health, **1:** 272, 313, 321, 336 n, 342; **2:** 30 n, 41 n, iron ring for, **1:** 313, 313 n; journey to Warm Springs, **1:** 336, 336 n; medical treatment for, **2:** 15 n, 59 n, 87, 87 n; miniature for, **2:** 65 n; music book, **2:** 87 n; pocket money to, **2:** 63.

Custis, Martha Parke, **2:** 333 n, 413; **3:** 129; **4:** 271 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 333, 379, 387; **3:** 5, 9, 88, 120, 124, 150, 191, 296, 300, 303, 305; hunting saddle for, **2:** 273 n; shoes for, **1:** 273.

Custis children, **2:** 393; tutor for, **1:** 252 n; **3:** 183 n.

Custis estates, **2:** 53.

Cut Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 444. *See also* Fish Creek.

Cuttaba Indians. *See* Indians.

Cypress Swamp, **1:** 189, 190.

Cypress tree, planted, **3:** 82.

Cytire, **3:** 83.

D

Dade, Townshend, **1:** 110 n, 294 n, 295; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 124, 294; **4:** 275; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95.

Dade, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259.

Daily, Richard, of the Dutch navy, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 446.

Dairy building, **3:** 337, 343; churns, etc., sent to, **3:** 363.

Dalby, ——, of Alexandria, **2:** 335; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 446; **3:** 39.

Dally, Gifford, **4:** 109, 109 n.

Dalton, Miss Jennie, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 139.

Dalton, Elizabeth (Betty or Betsy), **1:** 302 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 302, 303, 364, 392.

Dalton, John, captain, **1:** 110, 163, 164, 169 n, 302 n; **4:** 42, 281; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 272, 303; **2:** 160, 171, 194; **4:** 281; dines with Washington, **1:** 343; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 304; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95; Washington visits, **1:** 308, 366; **4:** 42.

Dalton, Mrs. John, dines with Washington, **1:** 341; Washington visits, **4:** 55.

Dalton, Tristram, **4:** 17, 17 n, 36, 36 n, 55 n, 56, 82, 94, 115, 133; theater tickets given to, **4:** 56.

Dam, **1:** 267; **2:** 76; **3:** 72, 74, 75, 76, 329.

Damsons, **3:** 31.

Danbury, Connecticut, **2:** 248 n.

Dance, John, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 107.

Dances. *See* Balls.

Dancing School at Mount Vernon, **1:** 373, 377, 378, 387, 397.

Dandridge, Anna Maria. *See* Bassett, Mrs. Burwell.

Dandridge, Bartholomew, colonel, **1:** 157, 157 n; **2:** 18, 18 n, 130, 130 n, 153, 153 n, 368 n; death, **2:** 368.

Dandridge, Mrs. Bartholomew, Washington visits, **2:** 59.

Dandridge, Bartholomew, Jr., **2:** 368 n; **3:** 64; **4:** 209 n, 212, 316.

Dandridge, Elizabeth (Betsy), **1:** 298, 312, 322.
Dandridge, John, colonel, **1:** 109 n; **3:** 8 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 8, 165, 166, 167, 168.
Dandridge, Mrs. John (Frances Jones), **1:** 109 n; **2:** 368; death, **2:** 368; Washington visits, **1:** 156, 156 n, 383.
Dandridge, Miss Martha (Patsy), **1:** 299; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 389.
Dandridge, William, **1:** 298 n; **2:** 18, 18 n; **4:** 266 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 266.
Dandridge, Mrs. ——, **2:** 153 n.
Dangerfield, ——, colonel, visits Washington, **1:** 353, 353 n, 392; Washington visits, **2:** 18.
Dangerfield, Mrs. William, **3:** 346, 352, 357; Washington visits, **2:** 197.
Dansie, Thomas, ferry, Washington at, **1:** 158 n.
Danville, Virginia, **4:** 101.
Daphne, inn at Williamsburg, Washington at, **1:** 324.
Darby, Samuel, major, **2:** 226, 226 n.
Darby, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 376.
Darke, William, colonel, **3:** 139 n; **4:** 155; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 139, 214.
Darnell, James, **1:** 276 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 276.
Darrel, ——, **2:** 91; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 79.
Darrel's Hill, Fairfax County, **1:** 368; **3:** 289.
Darrell, Augustus or Augustine, **1:** 388; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 256 n.
Darrell, Sampson, **1:** 140, 154; land purchased from, **1:** 127, 127 n; tobacco rent, **1:** 166 n, 167 n; Washington's promissory note to, **1:** 130.
Dartmouth College, President and Corporation, address to Washington, **4:** 52, 52 n.
Daugherty, James, **2:** 288 n, 289; Washington at, **2:** 288.
Davenport, Francis, lieutenant-colonel, **4:** 211 n.
Davenport's Globe Mills, Philadelphia, **4:** 247 n; Washington at, **4:** 247, 247 n.
Davidson, John, **1:** 46.
Davidson, Robert, clergyman, sermon, **4:** 212.
Davie, William Richardson, governor, **4:** 313 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 313.
Davis, Thomas, clergyman, **1:** 268 n; **2:** 193, 193 n; **3:** 356, 367; **4:** 298 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 298, 299; Washington visits, **1:** 268.
Davis, ——, midshipman, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386.
Davis, ——, of New Kent County, Washington at, **2:** 18.
Davison, John, **1:** 47, 57.
Davy, overseer at River plantation, **2:** 457; **3:** 86; share of pork, **3:** 151.
Dawson, Elizabeth Churchill, **1:** 268 n; Washington at, **1:** 268, 298, 325, 352, 379, 380; **2:** 17, 26, 40, 57, 58, 86, 87, 129, 131, 152, 153, 154, 159; Mrs. Washington at, **1:** 353, 354.
Dawson, John, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 127, 315.
Dawson, William, **2:** 159 n, 172, 172 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 339; Washington visits, **2:** 172.
Day, ——, overseer, share of pork, **3:** 287.
Dayton, Elias, colonel, **2:** 209, 209 n; intelligence from, **2:** 212.
Dead Man's Island, Ohio River, **1:** 412 n.
Deakins, Francis, colonel, **3:** 84, 84 n, 136.
Deborre's Ferry, Washington at, **2:** 298, 298 n.
Debts, British, recovery from America, **4:** 16, 16 n; Washington's discharge of, **4:** 7.
Debutts, ——, of Maryland, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 20.
Deer, **1:** 303, 313, 348, 361, 364; **2:** 4, 45; accident to buck, **3:** 11–12; buck injures slave, **3:** 443; drive, **2:** 42; killed, **1:** 418; **2:** 42; on the Ohio, **1:** 418. *See also* Paddock, deer.
Defray, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 414.

DeLancey, James, colonel, **2:** 113 n; Washington visits, **2:** 113.
DeLancey, Oliver, colonel, **2:** 113 n, 231 n; corps of, **2:** 231, 232, 233, 241.
DeLancey, Peter, **2:** 113 n.
DeLancey's Mills, Bronx River, New York, **2:** 243, 243 n, 245.
Delaplane, Virginia, **1:** 315 n.
Delasier, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 362.
Delaware, adopts amendments to United States Constitution, **4:** 94; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 217, 218.
Delaware Indians, **1:** 52, 56 n, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 418, 441, 442, 443.
Delaware River, Washington rides along, **4:** 248.
Deliverance, ship, **1:** 114; Washington's tobacco shipped in, **1:** 166.
Delivs, ——, of Bremen, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 277.
Dennison, William, adjutant-general, **4:** 29, 29 n.
Dennison, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 321.
Dennison, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 284, 306, 313, 319.
Dent, Elizabeth, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 141, 141 n, 142; **2:** 184.
Dent, Thomas, **1:** 141 n.
Dentistry, Washington, **2:** 59 n.
Dermot and Kathleen, ballet attended by Washington, **4:** 253 n.
Deserters, British at Yorktown, **2:** 264; French, **1:** 91, 92, 93; letter to, **1:** 100.
Detroit, **2:** 290, 319, 321; **4:** 141; Arnold reported at, **4:** 136; distances, **2:** 321, 322, 323, 324; expedition against, **2:** 225, 226; held by British, **2:** 326; **4:** 16 n; Pennsylvania insurrectionists going to, **4:** 214.
Detroit Public Library, **1:** xix.
Deux Ponts, Christian de Forbach, Comte de, colonel, **2:** 257, 257 n.
Devoirs Ferry, Monongahela River, **2:** 293.
DeWitt, Mary, **2:** 209 n.
Diaries, **1:** vii, ix, x, xvii, xix, 211 n, 224 n; **2:** 6 n; **4:** 6, 193 n.
Dick, Charles, **1:** 146 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 146.
Dick, Elisha Cullen, physician, **4:** 320 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 340.
Dick, ——, of Fredericksburg, Washington at, **2:** 27.
Dick, ——, **2:** 9.
Dick, ——, accompanies Washington to Williamsburg, **1:** 266; at Williamsburg, **1:** 268.
Dickenson, Jeremiah, **4:** 171 n.
Dickerson, ——, **1:** 113.
Dickinson, John, **1:** 325 n; **2:** 164 n, 371, 371 n; Washington visits, **2:** 164, 198.
Dickinson, Philemon, major general, **3:** 231 n; Washington visits, **3:** 231.
Didsbury, John, London bootmaker, shoes ordered from, **1:** 273 n.
Difficult Run (bridge), Virginia, **1:** 131 n, 161; **2:** 279, 279 n; Washington at, **3:** 123; **4:** 316, 317; Washington's land on, **1:** 162 n; **2:** 456; **4:** 316; Washington's surveys, **4:** 316, 317, 317 n.
Digges, Annie (Nancy), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 118, 123.
Digges, Dudley, **3:** 53.
Digges, Elizabeth (Betsy), **1:** 265 n; **2:** 76; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 265; **2:** 120, 121, 143, 148.
Digges, George, **1:** 276 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 276; **2:** 25, 44, 70, 90, 98, 105, 108, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 134, 143, 144, 158, 181, 185, 364, 382; **3:** 58, 94, 400, 419, 420; fox hunting with Washington, **2:** 98, 134, 137; sends a bull calf, **3:** 425; Washington visits, **3:** 403.
Digges, Ignatius, **1:** 142 n, 164 n, 284 n; **2:** 78, 395; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 142, 284; death, **2:** 401; Washington visits, **2:** 34, 78, 110, 120.
Digges, Jane (Jenny), **2:** 76, 109 n, 118, 122, 148.
Digges, Jerome, **2:** 109 n.

Digges, Joseph, physician, **2:** 44 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 44, 109, 156.
Digges, Miss Teresa (Tracy), **1:** 265 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 265, 276 n; **2:** 108, 120, 121, 122, 123, 148.
Digges, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 297, 304, 311.
Digges, William, of Warburton, **1:** 126, 126 n, 127, 147, 265 n, 284 n; **2:** 118 n, 184, 383, 444; **3:** 262, 263, 264, 420; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 124, 124 n, 265, 265 n, 329; **2:** 76, 90, 105, 116, 118, 148, 156, 158, 191, 367; Washington meets Gov. Eden at, **2:** 122; Washington visits, **1:** 328; **2:** 34, 44, 76, 77, 78, 90, 105, 119, 120, 123, 147, 148, 186, 383; **3:** 215; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 76, 90, 119, 123, 147, 186.
Digges, ——, **1:** 200; **4:** 262; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 50; **4:** 306.
Digges, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 116, 143; **3:** 58; **4:** 281.
Dinsmore, Silas, Indian agent, **4:** 291 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 291.
Dinwiddie, Robert, governor, **1:** 35 n, 40, 43, 43 n, 73 n, 77, 77 n, 81 n, 84 n, 100, 100 n, 147 n; **2:** 9 n; letter to, **1:** 77; letter to French commandant, **1:** 43, 43 n, 46; French reply to, **1:** 61 n; proclamation, **1:** 391 n, 428 n; **2:** 39 n.
Diplomatic Corps, dines with Washington, **4:** 248.
Diplomatic service, United States, **4:** 107, 109, 110, 115, 122, 128, 130, 131; Senate's lack of power over, **4:** 122.
Dismal Swamp, **1:** 189 n, 190, 191 n, 192; **2:** 418; Washington's memorandum of, **1:** 188 *et seq.*; Washington's trip to, **1:** 184 n, 188, 188 n, 189 n, 190 n; land purchase, **1:** 191; Washington's lands in, **1:** 191 n; Washington in, **1:** 296.
Dismal Swamp Company, legislative authority, **1:** 189 n; meeting, **2:** 371, 372.
District of Columbia, boundaries, **4:** 155 n; commissioners, **2:** 35 n; **4:** 199, 200; proprietors' deed, **4:** 200; proprietors' land cession, **4:** 199, 199 n, 200; Washington's directions for laying out, **4:** 155.
Ditchers, **1:** 144, 392, 393, 397, 398, 399, 453, 454; **3:** 109, 115, 119, 121, 123, 125, 132, 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 150, 151, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 178, 179, 180, 182, 184, 185, 188, 338, 351, 357, 362, 429, 430, 432, 435, 451; agreement, **3:** 104, 280; mistake, **3:** 164.
Ditching, **1:** 144 n, 380, 381; **2:** 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 139, 141, 144, 163, 164, 165, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 180, 182, 185, 202, 204, 208, 241, 256, 262, 265, 282, 285, 286, 289, 294, 295, 304, 312, 432, 434; **4:** 5.
Dives, ——, captain, **1:** 113.
Dobbs Ferry, New York, **2:** 214, 214 n, 215, 234, 235, 241, 247; army at, **2:** 233; battery damages British ships, **2:** 240; army crosses, 255.
Dobbs, William, captain, vessel captured, **2:** 236.
Dobson, ——, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 191.
Dogi Indians, **2:** 334 n.
Dogwood trees, **2:** 344, 345.
Dogs (hounds, fox-hounds, etc.), **1:** 361; bought, **2:** 452; breeding, **1:** 255, 263, 275, 293, 297, 311, 327, 332, 339, 371, 374, 375, 389, 455; **2:** 418; **3:** 15; delay in returning home, **1:** 363; French hounds, **2:** 407, 407 n, 414, 418, 451, 452, 453, 455; lent to George Calvert, **4:** 6; lent to Washington, **2:** 451, 455; mad, **3:** 141; mad and shot by Washington, **1:** 337; mange, **1:** 293; names, **1:** 255, 289; puppies, **1:** 270, 271, 289, 319, 399; unmanageable, **3:** 260. *See also* Fox hunting.
Dogue Creek, Mount Vernon, Washington crosses, **2:** 432.
Dogue (Doeg Doge) Run Farm (sometimes called Morris's), **1:** 108 n, 118 n, 129 n, 139, 154, 177, 178, 183, 185 n, 186, 187, 188, 201, 202, 203,

209, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 237, 238, 239, 240, 245, 246, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 270, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 289, 293, 297, 311, 323, 330, 331, 332, 338, 339, 347, 351, 369, 371, 375, 381, 390, 394, 395, 399; **2:** 16, 23, 24, 28, 31, 55, 67, 70, 72, 73, 76, 81, 85, 367, 387, 389, 391, 393, 406, 427, 429, 430, 431, 433, 435, 438, 440, 444, 447, 448, 456, 458; **3:** 19, 23, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 42, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 86, 89, 90, 93, 97, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 111, 112, 113, 120, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 156, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 192, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 240, 241, 242, 244, 247, 254, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 300, 302, 303, 304, 308, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 324, 325, 328, 329, 330, 332, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342, 344, 348, 351, 352, 356, 357, 359, 363, 364, 366, 367, 369, 370, 376, 377, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 389, 392, 395, 396, 398, 401, 404, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 419, 421, 422; **4:** 4, 418, 420, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 446, 447, 448, 449, 451, 453, 454, 455, 458; barn, **1:** 251; fishlanding, **2:** 69; land purchased, **1:** 185 n; mill, **1:** 150 n, 151, 357 n, 365, 367; patent, **1:** 320 n; school, **3:** 137; surveys, **2:** 55; **3:** 23; tobacco crop, **1:** 167 n; Washington at, **1:** 245, 246, 251, 252, 253, 256, 257, 258, 264, 265, 266, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277, 278, 283, 284, 290, 292, 294, 295, 299, 302, 303, 307, 311, 312, 313, 314, 320, 321, 322, 326, 328, 329, 330, 336, 344, 346, 348, 349, 350, 361, 362, 364, 368, 372, 373, 377, 385, 387, 388, 392, 393, 394; **2:** 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 45, 50, 51, 61, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 89, 99, 100, 102, 105, 108, 110, 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 127, 138, 155, 156, 160, 334, 338, 351, 359, 367, 374, 375, 380, 382, 384, 386, 387, 388, 389, 392, 393, 405, 409, 411, 413, 414, 418, 427, 429, 430, 431, 433, 435, 444, 448, 453, 456, 457, 460, 461; **3:** 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 37, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 53, 54, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 88, 89, 90, 93, 96, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188, 196, 198, 200, 203, 209, 211, 213, 240, 242, 244, 252, 256, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279, 280, 281, 286, 288, 293, 295, 296, 297, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 320, 324, 325, 326, 329, 331, 344, 350, 356, 358, 360, 373, 374, 376, 377, 380, 381, 386, 387, 388, 389, 395, 397, 399, 400, 403, 405, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 432, 433, 435, 436, 438, 439, 441, 442, 446, 447, 448, 449, 452, 453, 454, 455, 457; **4:** 3, 4, 5, 6; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 117; Washington fishing at, **1:** 396; Washington surveys, **2:** 461; **4:** 307 n, 308 n.

Dohrman, Arnold Henry, **2:** 389 n, 390 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 389–90.

Doilliamson, Comte, and Comtesse; send hounds to Washington, **2:** 407 n.

Dolson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 279.

Donald, Alexander, of Richmond, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 351; **3:** 242.

Donaldson, James, **1:** 131 n.

Donaldson, John, **2:** 173 n.

Donaldson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 257; **4:** 307.
Doncastle, ferry, Pamunky River, **2:** 103 n; Washington at, **2:** 103.
Donop (Dunop), Carl Emil Kurt, Count von, killed, **2:** 213 n.
Dorador, Count, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 445.
Dorchester, Lord. *See* Carleton, Sir Guy.
Dorsey, Lawrence A., North Carolina, **4:** 166 n.
Doughty, John, major, **4:** 133 n; encounter with Indians, **4:** 134.
Douglas, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 456.
Douglas, play, **1:** 292, 292 n.
Douglas & Smith, contract for fish, **2:** 357.
Douglass, Eliphas, **4:** 199 n.
Douglass Wood, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 49.
Dowe, ——, **2:** 340.
Downs, William, Maryland, **2:** 162 n; Washington at, **2:** 162, 169.
Drains, field, **1:** 134.
Drayton, William, **4:** 53 n; commission, as judge, **4:** 53.
Drayton, William Henry, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 128.
Dreer Collection, **1:** 211.
Dressmaking, **2:** 72 n, 75, 75 n.
Drew, ——, captain, **4:** 91.
Drew, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 52.
Drinker, John, **4:** 171 n.
Driver, John, **1:** 157.
Driving, **4:** 62; Washington and Mrs. Washington, **4:** 13, 14, 56, 60, 65, 84, 91, 102, 110, 112, 115; Washington, Mrs. Washington and the Custis children, **4:** 58, 68, 71, 83, 92, 93, 94, 102, 106, 110, 112, 113, 115, 125, 128, 129, 135.
Drought, **2:** 404.
Drouillon, ——, major, **1:** 87, 87 n.
Druid Hill Park, Baltimore, **3:** 110 n.
Drums, purchased for Prince William Independent Company, **2:** 186 n.
Drysdale Parish, Virginia, **2:** 173 n.
Duane, James, **4:** 13, 13 n, 84 n, 85, 111.
Dublois, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 318.
Dubois, ——, **4:** 17.
Duc de Bourgogne, French flagship, **2:** 224, 224 n.
Duche, Jacob, clergyman, **2:** 165 n.
Duchi, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 359, 360.
Duck cloth manufactory, **4:** 23; Boston, Washington visits, **4:** 37; describes work, **4:** 37, 38; Haverhill, Washington describes, **4:** 47.
Duck Creek, Ohio, **1:** 421 n, 444 n; Washington camps near, **1:** 421.
Duck hunting, **1:** 253, 254, 308, 312, 348, 361; **2:** 8; blue wing teal, **1:** 294, 295, 348. *See also* Gunning.
Duck River, Tennessee, **4:** 80.
Duckett, John, **2:** 523.
Duddington, Washington, D.C., **4:** 153 n.
Duer, William, **4:** 13, 13 n, 58, 58 n.
Dulaney, Lloyd, **2:** 34 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 105; Washington visits, **2:** 34, 107.
Dulany, Benjamin, **2:** 70, 70 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 70, 97, 105, 106, 122, 134, 137, 143, 144, 169, 339, 362, 381, 422, 458; **3:** 315, 452; exchange of land with Washington, **2:** 339, 340, 344; Washington visits, **2:** 105, 344; **3:** 424.
Dulany, Mrs. Benjamin, **2:** 344.
Dulany, Daniel, **1:** 385 n; **2:** 35 n, 70 n, 459; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 122, 123, 458; Washington visits, **2:** 35, 108.
Dulany, Daniel, Jr., **2:** 101 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 101.
Dulany, Grafton, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 97, 137.
Dulany, Rachel. *See* Addison, Mrs. John.
Dulany, Mrs. Walter, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 435.
Dulany, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 88, 89, 182.
Dulany, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 397.
Dumfries, Virginia, **1:** 112 n, 326, 367; **2:** 394, 317 n, 406; Independent

Company reviewed by Washington, **2:** 188, 189; Washington at, **1:** 112, 115, 275, 356, 356 n, 378; **2:** 5, 12, 15, 27, 34, 55, 60, 60 n, 79, 84, 132, 151, 188, 189, 190, 371, 372, 372 n; **3:** 49, 51, 205, 206, 366, 456, 457; **4:** 156, 199.
Dunbar, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 261.
Duncan, William, **1:** 8 n.
Dundas, Thomas, lieutenant-colonel, **2:** 269, 269 n.
Dunkard's Bottom, Pennsylvania, **2:** 284 n, 300, 303, 304, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311, 321, 322; name, **2:** 300.
Dunlap, John, **4:** 217.
Dunlap, ——, of West Indies, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 257.
Dunlap's Creek, **2:** 315.
Dunmore, John Murray, Earl, **1:** 74 n, 447 n; **2:** 60 n; dissolves Burgesses, **2:** 152 n; land agent of, **2:** 142 n; secretary, *see* Foy, Edward; Washington visits, **2:** 39 n, 56, 85, 104, 128, 131, 151, 152, 154.
Dunmore, Lady, **2:** 152, 152 n.
Dunn, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 309.
Dunnington, George, Maryland tenant, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 127, 132.
Duplaine, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 351.
Du Pont, Victor Marie, **3:** 441 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 441.
Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel, **3:** 441 n.
Duportail, Louis Le Bèque, **2:** 220 n, 237, 260.
Duquesne, Marquis, **1:** 44 n.
Durham, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 26.
Du Sablé, ——, cadet, **1:** 87 n.
Dutch Reformed Church, York, Washington at, **4:** 203.
Dutchman. *See* Overdonck, Daniel.
Duval, John Pierce, **4:** 93, 93 n.
Duval, Samuel, Washington at, **2:** 189.
Duval's Island. *See* Kerr Island.
Dyckman, George, inn, **4:** 20 n.

E

Eaglan, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 434.
Eagle Tavern, Centerville, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 171 n.
Eagle Tavern, Petersburg, Washington at, **4:** 160 n.
Eagle's Nest, Stafford County, Washington at, **1:** 290 n.
Eaglin, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 151; **4:** 304.
East Chester, New York, **2:** 233 n; Washington at, **4:** 21.
East Chester road, New York, **2:** 233, 242.
East Fairfield, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 23.
East Florida, **4:** 180, 181, 181 n.
East Hartford, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 51.
East Haven, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 26.
Easter Monday, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 150, 150 n.
Eastern Boundary dispute, **4:** 91, 91 n, 108, 108 n; President's message on, **4:** 91 n.
Eastern Branch Hotel, Washington City, **4:** 286 n.
Eastern Shore, Virginia, **1:** 311; **2:** 461; **3:** 11, 64, 72, 183, 200.
Eastern States, **2:** 235; Washington's tour through, **4:** 14, 16, 17, 20–51.
Eastern Trail, **2:** 284 n.
Eden, Sir Robert, governor, Washington dines with, **1:** 352.
Eden, Thomas, governor, **2:** 78, 82 n; accompanies Washington to Philadelphia, **2:** 110 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 90, 105; meets Washington, **2:** 44, 122; Washington visits, **2:** 35, 35 n, 82, 83, 107, 110 n, 125, 126.
Edmonstone, Charles, captain, **1:** 410, 410 n.
Education, Washington's endowment

for poor children, **2**: 457; help to various children, **2**: 410, 410 n.
Edwards, Pierpont, **4**: 25, 25 n.
Edwards, ——, Major, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 385, 386.
Edward's Fort, Great Cacapehon Creek, Washington at, **1**: 73 n.
Eilbeck, Anne, **1**: 145 n.
Eilbeck, William, colonel, **1**: 145.
Eilbeck, ——, widow, **2**: 20, 20 n.
Eldridge, Fanny, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 46.
Election, ball, **2**: 169 n; for Congress, **4**: 6; electors for President, **4**: 3; Fairfax County, **1**: 301, 301 n; **2**: 43, 43 n, 169 n; **3**: 312; **4**: 275; Washington at, **1**: 344; **3**: 312; Washington's vote, **2**: 362.
Elephant, fossil bones, **1**: 445, 445 n.
Elizabeth River, Virginia, **1**: 189 n, 193.
Elizabethtown, New Jersey, Washington at, **2**: 112.
Elk Ridge landing, Maryland, Washington at, **3**: 215 n.
Elk River, Virginia, Washington's lands on, **4**: 286 n.
Elk Run Church, Virginia, **2**: 316, 317 n.
Elkton, Maryland, Washington at, **4**: 234, 237, 238, 239, 242, 254, 287, 290. *See also* Head of Elk.
Ellicott, Andrew, **4**: 153 n, 155 n, 200; surveys of Washington City, **4**: 153, 153 n.
Elliot, Mrs. Andrew, **3**: 134, 134 n.
Elliot, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 269.
Ellis, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 122, 123.
Ellis, ——, **2**: 348.
Ellsworth, Oliver, **4**: 27, 27 n, 28, 72, 94, 313–14 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 307; Washington visits, **4**: 28.
Ellzey, 273; Thomison, Fairfax County, **1**: 252; **2**: 139 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 247; Washington visits, **2**: 10.
Ellzey, Lewis, **2**: 10 n.
Ellzey, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 139.
Elm trees, **2**: 338, 347, 355, 433.
Elmer, Jonathan, **4**: 72.
Eltham, New Kent, **2**: 273; **3**: 295; Washington at, **1**: 324, 351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 379, 383; **2**: 17, 18, 59, 273. *See also* Bassett, Burwell.
Emerson, Thomas, **1**: 380, 381.
Emigrants, travelling to western county, **1**: 449.
L'Enfant, Pierre Charles, major, **4**: 155 n, 200, 200 n; plan of Washington City, **4**: 153, 153 n.
Engineer Corps, U.S.A., father of, **3**: 197.
Engineers, **2**: 220–21.
England, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 433.
English, John T., physician, **4**: 260 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 260.
English prisoners, carried into Canada, **1**: 49.
Ennis, ——, describes Little Kanhawa lands to Washington, **1**: 409.
Enoch, Henry, Cacapehon Forks, fort, **1**: 405, 405 n; Washington at, **1**: 449.
Entertainments (shows, amusements, etc.). *See* Theater.
Envs, John, captain, **3**: 303 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 303.
Epilepsy, **1**: 336 n; **2**: 409; cures for, **2**: 30, 30 n; medicines for, **2**: 15 n.
Episcopal Church, Portsmouth, Washington at, **4**: 43.
Episcopal Church, in Virginia, **1**: 131 n.
Epple's Tavern, Philadelphia, **3**: 226 n; Washington at, **3**: 226.
Erie, held by British, **4**: 16 n.
Espy, David, Bedford, **4**: 221; Washington at, **4**: 221.
Estaing, Charles Henri Theodat, Comte d', **4**: 20, 77, 77 n; letter to, **3**: 221 n.
L'Etombe, Philip Joseph, **4**: 261 n.
Eureka Island, Ohio River, **1**: 420 n.
Eustis, William, physician, **4**: 37 n.
Evan, ——, widow, Washington at, **2**: 66.
Evans, Joshua, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 313.

Evans, Lewis, map of Middle Colonies, **2:** 323, 323 n.
Eveleigh, Nicholas, **4:** 113.
Evelin, ——, major, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 257.
Everard, ——, fees to, **2:** 84 n.
Everett, ——, North Carolina, **4:** 166 n; Washington at, **4:** 166.
Evergreens, **2:** 350; **3:** 83.
Ewell, Charles, **1:** 109 n.
Excise law, **4:** 159, 159 n; causes Whiskey Rebellion, **4:** 159 n; opposition in South, **4:** 196; opposition to, **4:** 209 n, 213.
Executorship, Washington for John Mercer, **2:** 171 n. *See also* Colvill, Thomas.
Exercise, Washington rides for, **3:** 234, 235; **4:** 14, 15, 18, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 69, 72, 77, 82, 86, 91, 92, 93, 95, 103, 105, 110, 113, 114, 115, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 136, 137, 142, 143, 247, 248; Washington walks for, **4:** 15, 53.
Exeter, New Hampshire, **4:** 46; Washington at, **4:** 46.
Experiments, agricultural, **1:** 158, 164; **2:** 451; **3:** 4, 12, 32, 174, 178, 186, 259, 328, 330, 377; farm under government proposed, **4:** 72 n; marle, **3:** 10; plaster of paris, *see* Plaster of Paris; with river mud, **2:** 431; sowing with drill or barrel plow, **3:** 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44; transplanting, **2:** 414.
Exports, act, to prevent uninspected, **4:** 111, 112.
Express chain, **2:** 241.

F

Faggots, **3:** 14, 23.
Fairfax, Ann. *See* Washington, Mrs. Lawrence.
Fairfax, Bryan (Eighth Lord Fairfax), **1:** 130, 130 n, 247, 247 n, 254, 263, 319, 327, 371; **2:** 49, 399, 415; **3:** 306 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 245, 246, 272, 291, 308, 313, 317 n, 321, 329, 345, 346, 349, 365, 370, 393; **2:** 11, 49, 50, 80, 88, 90, 100, 101, 102, 118, 140, 143, 170, 194, 277, 378, 391; **3:** 120, 170, 306, 326; **4:** 3, 265, 275, 319; biographical sketch, **1:** 130 n, 131 n; daughter, **2:** 41 n; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 255, 300, 302, 307, 309, 317, 321, 349, 365, 370, 393; **2:** 49, 88, 100, 102; friendship for Washington, **1:** 131 n; goes to England, **2:** 277; land, **2:** 65, 80; land purchased from, **1:** 162 n; land purchased from Washington, **2:** 53, 90 n; mill, **1:** 302; Washington visits, **1:** 400; **2:** 65, 414, 424, 425; **3:** 25, 26, 83, 84, 360; **4:** 317, 319. *See also* Towlston.
Fairfax, Mrs. Bryan (Jane Donaldson also Elizabeth Cary), **1:** 131 n; (Elizabeth Cary) — at Mount Vernon, **1:** 453; **4:** 279, 284, 306, 307 313, 314.
Fairfax, Denny Martin, **1:** 290 n; **3:** 183 n.
Fairfax, Ferdinand, **3:** 442 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 442, 448; **4:** 258, 279.
Fairfax, Ferdinando, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 391.
Fairfax, Frances, **1:** 130 n.
Fairfax, George William, **1:** 2, 3, 3 n, 5, 5 n, 9, 11, 12, 116, 121, 137, 138, 140, 141 n, 143, 146, 148, 164, 164 n, 239, 247 n, 307, 387; **2:** 74, 80, 100, 171 n, 179, 371, 453; **3:** 48; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 123, 130, 131, 140, 141, 163, 246, 256, 274, 277, 291, 313, 328, 329, 335, 346, 361, 370, 386, 388, 399; **2:** 3, 13, 21, 29, 30, 42, 44, 68, 71, 82, 97, 106, 108, 116, 117; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 252, 300, 302, 307, 314; cipher on Pohick pew, **2:** 160 n; land purchase from, **1:** 161; land on Shenandoah, **1:** 138; letter, **2:** 388, 388 n; sale of Belvoir effects, **2:** 160, 160 n, 173; takes leave of Washington, **2:** 117; with Washington at Berkeley Springs, **1:** 340, 341,

342; Washington's letter to, **1:** 383 n; Washington visits, **1:** 292, 299, 307, 320; **2:** 44, 80, 102.
Fairfax, Mrs. George William (Sarah Cary), **1:** 3 n, 108, 387 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 108, 123, 140, 141, 246, 247 n, 252, 252 n, 284, 291, 300, 307, 328, 346, 361, 377, 453, 453 n; **2:** 3, 14, 61, 68, 71, 106, 110, 117; Washington visits, **2:** 30.
Fairfax, Hannah, **1:** 141, 141 n, 296 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 141, 142. *See also* Washington, Mrs. Warner.
Fairfax, Hezekiah, overseer, **2:** 456; **3:** 149, 280, 290 n, 346, 352, 357.
Fairfax, John, overseer at Ferry Farm, **2:** 405, 453; **3:** 142, 146; sent for asses, **2:** 428, 428 n; **3:** 136; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 316.
Fairfax, Robert (Seventh Lord Fairfax), **1:** 290 n; **2:** 3, 17; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 361, 370, 374, 377, 386; **2:** 3, 8; with Washington at Berkeley Springs, **1:** 342, 343.
Fairfax, Mrs. Robert, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 71.
Fairfax, Sarah (Sally), **2:** 43 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 41, 43.
Fairfax, Thomas (Sixth Lord Fairfax), **1:** 2, 3 n, 4, 4 n, 128, 128 n, 290, 291, 339; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 130, 130 n, 131 n, 329; **2:** 13, 68, 108; counsel for, **2:** 314; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 300, 302; Washington visits, **1:** 329; **2:** 9, 67; with Washington at Berkeley Springs, **1:** 341, 342, 343.
Fairfax, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 99, 448; **4:** 319.
Fairfax, Hon. William, **1:** 2, 3 n, 22 n, 86, 86 n, 120 n, 129 n, 296 n, 376 n.
Fairfax, Mrs. William (Deborah Clarke, also Sarah Walker), **1:** 3 n.
Fairfax, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 306, 307, 313, 314.
Fairfax *vs.* Virginia, **1:** 129 n.
Fairfax County, Virginia, clerk, **1:** 309 n; committee, **1:** 301 n, 345 n; **2:** 156 n, 173, 173 n; delegate to Virginia Convention, **2:** 192 n; delegates in Virginia legislature, **2:** 364; elections, **1:** 301, 301 n, 344, 344 n; **2:** 157, 186, 186 n; **3:** 45, 196, 268; inhabitants meeting, **2:** 156, 156 n, 157; resolves, **1:** 145 n, 294 n; **2:** 157, 157 n; sheriff, **1:** 127 n; **3:** 424 n; signatures to Association, **1:** 383 n, 384 n; Washington at meeting, **2:** 156 n.
Fairfax County Independent Company, **2:** 182, 182 n, 185, 191; drums and colors for, **2:** 148 n; Washington accepts command of, **2:** 170; Washington meets, **2:** 193.
Fairfax and Prince William, election of state senator, **3:** 268.
Fairfax Court House, **2:** 345.
Fairfax Parish, **1:** 110 n, 120 n.
Fairfield, Connecticut, **4:** 51; British destruction of, **4:** 22, 22 n; Washington at, **4:** 22, 23.
Fairfield (Warner Washington's place), Berkeley County, Virginia, **2:** 144 n; Washington at, **2:** 144; **3:** 362.
Fairlie, James, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 454, 455.
Fallen Timbers, Wayne's victory at, **4:** 140 n, 141 n.
Falls Church, Virginia, **1:** 131 n, 369 n; **2:** 279.
Falmouth, Virginia, road, **2:** 317 n; Washington at, **2:** 372 n.
Faneuil Hall, Boston, dinner to Washington at, **4:** 37.
Fantasque, French ship of war, **2:** 230, 230 n.
Farley, ——, **1:** 189 n, 193, 194.
Farm implements, **2:** 438, 441, 442, 447, 448.
Farm pen, **3:** 328, 339, 457, 458.
Farmer, Samuel, **2:** 112 n; Washington at, **2:** 112.
Farmer, Mount Vernon, share of pork, **3:** 287.
Farmer, brigantine, Washington's, **2:** 146 n.
"Farmer's Letters," **1:** 325 n; **2:** 164 n.
Farmington, Connecticut, Washington at, **2:** 217, 219.
Farrel, ——, Bristol merchant, Wash-

ington's tobacco shipped to, **1:** 166 n.
Fascines, **2:** 263, 263 n.
Fast day, Virginia, over Boston Port Bill, **2:** 152 n, 153, 153 n.
"Father of his Country," applied to Washington, **4:** 160 n.
Fauntleroy, Moore, **1:** 113 n.
Fauquier County, Virginia, **1:** 4 n, 150 n; Carter lands in, **1:** 316 n; land from Prince William County, **1:** 130 n; rents, **2:** 335; roads in lower, **2:** 317 n; survey of Washington's lands in, **2:** 66; Washington's lands in, **1:** 318; **2:** 66, 102, 102 n; **3:** 6; Washington's tenants in, **1:** 278 n; **2:** 66, 145; Washington's journey through, **2:** 317 n.
Fauquier, Francis, governor, **1:** 147 n, 157 n.
Fayette County, Pennsylvania, **2:** 298; court apologizes to Washington, **2:** 301; Washington's land in, **2:** 293 n; **3:** 142 n, 143 n, 210; sale price, 210 n; Whiskey Insurrection in, **4:** 209 n, 212, 220.
Feal, ——, **4:** 308 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 308.
Federal City. *See* Washington City.
Federalist, miniature ship, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 365, 365 n, 393.
Fences, **1:** 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 151, 155, 251, 310; **2:** 11, 99; **3:** 32, 106, 112, 113, 156, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174, 175, 180, 182, 185, 194, 195, 196, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 212, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 321, 323, 333, 334, 337, 338, 339, 346, 363, 365, 375, 388, 395, 400, 401, 413, 414, 415, 420, 423, 427, 428, 444, 458; **4:** 3; building, **1:** 128 n, 263; **2:** 406; damaged, **3:** 394; post and rail, **2:** 349, 360; **3:** 30; serpentine post and rail, **2:** 370; surveying lines, **2:** 50, 51; Washington advises, **3:** 166.
Fendall, Benjamin, **2:** 124 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 124, 125.
Fendall, Philip, **1:** 105, 372; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 372; **3:** 12, 36, 78, 79, 108, 113, 115, 280, 317; **2:** 405, 407; **3:** 138, 164, 165, 331, 341, 375, 392; Washington visits, **2:** 434; **3:** 129, 406, 434, 447; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **3:** 169, 406, 447.
Fendall, Mrs. Philip, **3:** 101; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 393, 404, 430, 431; **3:** 100; **4:** 299.
Fenugreek seed, **1:** 211.
Ferry, Mount Vernon, Washington at, **2:** 6, 20.
Ferry Farm, Mount Vernon, **1:** 107 n, 347 n; **2:** 24, 32, 35, 37, 38, 53, 54, 73, 75, 76, 81, 85, 346, 351, 387, 389, 391, 405, 409, 411, 412, 456, 458; **3:** 40, 46, 48, 56, 62, 64, 70, 74, 76–77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 87, 89, 90, 93, 96, 98, 99, 104, 109, 113, 114, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125, 127, 129, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 141, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 159, 162, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 187, 188, 196, 201, 202, 206, 208, 209, 212, 213, 214, 254, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 271, 273, 274, 275, 277, 278, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 293, 294, 300, 301, 303, 304, 310, 313, 314, 315, 317, 318, 319, 320, 322, 324, 327, 329, 330, 333, 339, 340, 342, 343, 344, 345, 347, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 358, 360, 363, 364, 366, 367, 369, 375, 376, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 387, 388, 390, 391, 392, 403, 406, 408, 410, 411, 414, 415, 419, 420, 421, 423, 425, 426, 427, 429, 433, 434, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 442, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, 457, 458; **4:** 4, 5, 6; hands at races, **3:** 124; live stock at, **2:** 444; **3:** 280; names of slaves, **3:** 19; overseer, **2:** 405; **3:** 280 n; survey, **2:** 54; Posey addition to, **1:** 350; Washington at, **1:** 350 n; **2:** 21, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 50, 55, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 80, 83, 84, 89, 99, 100, 102; 105, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 133, 334, 356, 359, 384, 387, 388, 389, 392, 405,

413, 414, 427, 429, 435, 446, 456, 461, **3**: 3, 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 29, 54, 59, 60, 62, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 93, 99, 100, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 119, 121, 125, 127, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 150, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 172, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 194, 196, 198, 200, 203, 209, 211, 213, 240, 242, 244, 252, 256, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 293, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 320, 324, 325, 326, 329, 344, 350, 353, 355, 356, 358, 360, 364, 373, 374, 376, 377, 380, 381, 386, 387, 388, 389, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 432, 433, 435, 436, 438, 439, 441, 442, 446, 447, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457; **4**: 4, 5, 6; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2**: 117.

Ferry fishing landing, **2**: 62; **3**: 36, 41, 55, 319; Washington at, **3**: 35, 37, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48. *See also* Fishing landing.

Ferry tolls (Ferriages), **2**: 84 n, 103 n, 151 n, 190.

Fertilizing, **3**: 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 64, 66, 133, 134, 166, 167, 168, 200, 202, 259, 263, 305, 311, 318, 323, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 334, 335, 337, 338, 374, 406; fish used for, **3**: 330, 334, 337, 338. *See also* Fish; river mud, **3**: 442, 445, 448, 450.

Fevot, Ferdinand, **4**: 274 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 274.

Few, William, **4**: 58, 58 n, 66, 94, 103, 104.

Field, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 279.

Fields, enclosure of, **2**: 54.

Fifteen Mile Creek, West Virginia, **2**: 285, 286.

Filberts, **2**: 364, 375.

Filson, Robert, seized, **4**: 223.

Findley, John, **4**: 212 n, 214; on committee to meet Washington, **4**: 212; statement of insurrection conditions, **4**: 213.

Finlay, Hugh, **2**: 62.

Finley, ——, judge, **1**: 23.

Fish, John, **4**: 40 n.

Fish, Nicholas, major, **2**: 252, 252 n.

Fish, **3**: 45, 46; above Great Kanhawa falls, **2**: 312, 316; barrels, **1**: 170, 267; **3**: 46; catch of, **1**: 267; **3**: 46, 47, 49, 54, 55, 56, 200, 206, 207, 208, 209, 319, 326, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 342, 343; cease running, **3**: 59, 343; contract, **1**: 386 n; **2**: 357; herring, **1**: 151, 152, 267, 323, 367; **2**: 16, 62 n; 357; **3**: 38, 200, 319, 326; for manure, **3**: 330, 334, 337, 338; passage in Virginia rivers, **1**: 325 n; salting, **1**: 333 n; **3**: 28, 29, 207; shad, **2**: 16, 70 n; **3**: 41; shad sold by Washington, **2**: 62 n, 70 n, 357; sturgeon, **1**: 268, 269; white, **1**: 267, 323.

Fish (Cut) Creek, West Virginia, **1**: 418, 418 n.

Fish Creek Island, Ohio River, **1**: 418 n.

Fisher, William, **2**: 165 n; Washington at, **2**: 165.

Fisher, ——, **4**: 176.

Fishing, **1**: 267; **2**: 109; agreement, **1**: 367; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 108, 270; **2**: 357; **3**: 39, 46, 51, 53, 54, 188, 202, 203; sein, **1**: 148, 149, 151, 152, 153; **2**: 16, 18, 55, 109, 118; **3**: 36, 37, 38, 46, 319, 320; Washington's trips, **1**: 285, 286, 396, 419; **2**: 74, 118; **3**: 230, 231; **4**: 44; lines, **2**: 299.

Fishing Creek, West Virginia, **1**: 409, 416, 416 n, 439.

Fishing (Muddy) Creek, West Virginia, **1**: 419, 439, 444, 445 n.

Fishing Landing, **1**: 367; **2**: 105; **3**: 46; house, **2**: 21; **3**: 80, 87, 301; rented by Washington, **3**: 28; Washington at, **2**: 13, 14, 21, 55, 60, 62, 108, 110, 141, 358, 359, 361, 362, 366, 367, 374, 375, 380; **3**: 41, 42, 45, 47, 53, 54, 59, 60, 188, 189, 194, 198, 200, 203, 209,

211, 213, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 336, 339; wharf, **2:** 350; work at, **3:** 59.
Fishing landings, Adams's, Washington at, **2:** 192; Johnson's, **2:** 149; **3:** 301; Posey's, **2:** 13, 14, 15, 61, 149, 375; Sheridine's Point, **2:** 108, 110; Washington at, **1:** 372, 373, 374, 376; **2:** 61, 63, 148, 149.
Fishing shores, Mount Vernon, **2:** 69 n; Washington sounds, **2:** 69.
Fishkill, New York, Washington at, **2:** 217 n.
Fishkill Landing, New York, **2:** 217, 217 n.
Fishwater, John, justice of the peace, **2:** 314 n; Washington at, **2:** 314.
Fisk, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 269.
Fitch, John, **2:** 282 n, 432 n; steamboat, **2:** 432, 432 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 432 n.
Fits. *See* Epilepsy.
Fitzgerald, John, lieutenant-colonel, **2:** 209 n, 336, 377, 402, 415, 424; **3:** 10, 11, 25, 26, 83, 85, 122, 297, 412, 434, 448; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 109, 137, 144, 190, 339, 376, 381, 411–12, 441, 442, 452; **3:** 7, 27, 100, 106, 117, 214, 239, 279, 302, 304, 367, 384; **4:** 5, 272, 281, 299, 310, 311; letter, **4:** 255 n; Washington visits, **2:** 341, 364, 380, 412, 417; **3:** 263, 312, 399, 455; **4:** 270.
Fitzhugh, George, of Maryland, **2:** 358 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 109.
Fitzhugh, Henry, **1:** 150 n, 185 n, 352.
Fitzhugh, John, of Marmion, **2:** 80 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 80, 81, 88, 89.
Fitzhugh, John or William, **2:** 161 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 161.
Fitzhugh, Nicholas, **4:** 275, 298 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259, 298, 316.
Fitzhugh, Thomas, captain, **1:** 150, 150 n.
Fitzhugh, William, of Alexandria, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 278, 280, 281, 291, 304, 305; Washington visits, **4:** 301, 318; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **4:** 269.
Fitzhugh, William, of Chatham, **1:** 185 n; **2:** 427 n; **3:** 366; **4:** 260 n, 275; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 427; **3:** 49, 104, 124; **4:** 260, 260 n, 275, 279; sends grass seed, **3:** 48; Washington visits, **3:** 51, 366.
Fitzhugh, William, Jr., of Chatham, a; Mount Vernon, **3:** 49, 174.
Fitzhugh, William, of Maryland, **2:** 358 n, 378; **3:** 22; 419 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 358; **3:** 2, 413; **3:** 109; sends grass seed, **3:** 57.
Fitzhugh, William, Jr., of Maryland, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 413; **3:** 440.
Fitzhugh, William, of Stafford, widow of, **1:** 290 n.
Fitzhugh, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 36.
Fitzhugh, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 275.
Fitzhugh, Miss Mollie, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 280, 299.
Fitz Randolph, Edward, **2:** 195 n; Washington at, **2:** 163 n, 195.
Fitzsimons, Thomas, **4:** 82, 102 n, 105, 140.
Flag of truce, post, **2:** 214 n.
Flagg, Ebenezer, major, **2:** 213; killed, 213 n, 215.
Flagg, ——, physician, **4:** 169 n; Washington at, **4:** 169.
Flagstones, from Alexandria, **3:** 46.
Flatbush, Long Island, **4:** 117; Washington at, **4:** 116.
Flax, **1:** 214, 227, 228, 229, 236, 237, 238, 266, 267, 279, 280, 293; **3:** 52, 58, 75, 89, 90, 93, 95, 112, 119, 121, 190, 196, 213, 295, 326, 328, 330, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 347, 349, 350, 351, 371, 373, 393, 394, 395, 396, 415, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 426, 428, 429, 432, 447, 457, 458; spinning, **3:** 300.
Fleas, etc., **1:** 5.
Fleming, Biddy, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 80.
Fleming, Thomas, **1:** 380, 380 n; **2:** 80 n; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95.
Fleming, William, major, **2:** 44 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 44.

Flint, ——, **1:** 343; Washington visits, **1:** 343.
Flood, John, furnishes information, **2:** 210, 210 n, 211.
Flood, William, **1:** 185 n.
Flood, William P., physician, **4:** 273 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 261, 273.
Florida, population, **4:** 89; slaves escape to, **4:** 181.
Flour, sent to troops, **2:** 210, 211; Washington's, **2:** 21, 22 n, 23, 70, 90 n, 350; **3:** 4, 5, 55, 66; shipped to Madeira, **2:** 127 n; shipment to West Indies, **2:** 73.
Flower, Benjamin, **2:** 198 n.
Floyd, William, Signer, **4:** 71, 71 n, 124, 124 n.
Flushing, Long Island, **4:** 120; inhabitants salute Washington, **4:** 19; Washington at, **4:** 18.
Fodder, **1:** 188, 203, 215, 228, 229, 230, 244, 297, 346, 347, 351; **2:** 85; **3:** 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 240, 242, 255, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 432, 433.
Foliage, etc., at Mount Vernon, **2:** 404.
Foot, Elizabeth, **1:** 251 n.
Foot, Joseph, **4:** 300 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 300.
Foot, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 260, 282, 301.
Foot Family, of Chotank, **1:** 130 n.
Foote, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 307, 310, 319.
Forbes, Mrs. ——, housekeeper, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 265, 265 n.
Ford, Worthington C., **1:** xii; Writings of Washington, **1:** 40.
Ford, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Foreign Ministers to United States, present on termination of service, **4:** 122, 123, 123 n.
Foreigners, etiquette of meeting the President, **4:** 106.
Forest, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Forman, David, brigadier general, **2:** 241, 271; letter from, **2:** 216, 216 n.
Formicalo's Tavern, Richmond, Washington at, **3:** 50, 51.
Forrest, Uriah, colonel, **4:** 154 n, 199 n; Washington at, **4:** 154.
Fort Adams, Boston, **4:** 38.
Fort Augusta, North Carolina, **2:** 227, 227 n.
Fort Augusta, Pennsylvania, **2:** 323.
Fort Charles, Spuyten Duyvil Creek, **2:** 243, 243 n.
Fort Chartres, Mississippi River, **1:** 436, 443, 448.
Fort Cumberland, Maryland, **1:** 401, 401 n, 406; **2:** 281 n, 284, 286 n, 287, 289, 308, 311, 320, 322, 401; Washington at, **1:** 449.
Fort Duquesne, Pennsylvania, **1:** 44 n, 46 n, 85, 91, 102; **2:** 281 n; completed, **1:** 75 n.
Fort Erie, Pennsylvania, **2:** 324.
Fort Frederick, Maryland, **2:** 184 n.
Fort Frontenac, Canada, **1:** 56 n.
Fort George, New York City, **2:** 221, 221 n, 239, 244.
Fort Granby, South Carolina, **2:** 226; **4:** 179; Washington at, **4:** 182.
Fort Harmar, treaty, **4:** 138, 138 n.
Fort Independence, New York, **2:** 239, 239 n, 243.
Fort Johnson, James Island, Charleston, Washington at, **4:** 173.
Fort Knyphausen, New York, **2:** 237, 238, 239, 244.
Fort Le Bœuf, Pennsylvania, **1:** 47 n, 49 n, 59, 61 n, 404 n; **2:** 319; described by Washington, **1:** 59; Washington's journey to, **1:** 40 *et seq.*
Fort Lee, New Jersey, **2:** 214, 215, 232.
Fort Loudoun, Virginia, **1:** 162 n.
Fort Massac, Illinois, **1:** 446, 446 n.
Fort Mott, South Carolina, **2:** 227, 227 n.
Fort Moultrie, Charleston, Washington at, **4:** 173.
Fort Necessity, Pennsylvania, **1:** 72, 73 n, 85 n, 102 n, 407 n; **2:** 281 n; attack on, **1:** 90; capitulation, **1:** 82 n, 102 n; erected, **1:** 4; Indian council at, **1:** 94, 99, 100, 101; prayers at, **1:** 90; site, **3:** 210 n.
Fort Niagara, New York, **2:** 324.
Fort Oswego, New York, **1:** 56.

Fort Pitt, **1:** 44 n, 284 n, 305, 320, 321, 322, 323, 402, 402 n, 410, 411, 412, 412 n, 421 n, 440, 442, 444, 446; distances down the Ohio, **1:** 444, 445, 446, 446 n; officers dine with Washington, **1:** 447, 447 n, 452; Washington at, **1:** 402, 409, 410, 446, 450, 452; Washington describes, **1:** 410.
Fort Pleasant, West Virginia, **2:** 312, 313, 318.
Fort Presque Isle, **1:** 49 n.
Fort Prince George, South Carolina, **2:** 227 n.
Fort Schuyler, New York, **2:** 210, 210 n, 216, 216 n.
Fort Stanwix, New York, **2:** 210 n.
Fort Toronto, **1:** 56 n.
Fort Tryon, New York, **2:** 238, 238 n, 239, 244.
Fort Washington, New York, **2:** 221, 221 n.
Fort Washington, Ohio, **4:** 140, 142 n; Washington visits, **4:** 142.
Fort Washington, Potomac river, **1:** 276 n.
Fossil bones, West Virginia, **1:** 445, 445 n.
Foster, John, overseer, **1:** 112, 119, 119 n, 121 n, 123, 177; tobacco crop, **1:** 167 n.
Foster, Abiel, **4:** 67, 67 n, 105, 105 n.
Foster, Theodore, **4:** 133, 133 n, 135, 135 n.
Foster, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 94.
Fountain Inn, Baltimore, Washington at, **3:** 215; **4:** 254 n.
Four Mile Run, Virginia, land bought by Washington, **2:** 183, 366; **4:** 301, 303 n; survey by Washington, **2:** 366; **3:** 55, 55 n, 56; **4:** 301, 301 n, 303, 303 n; Washington at, **3:** 26.
Fox, bob-tailed, **1:** 256.
Fox Grape Vine Creek. *See* Captina Creek.
Fox hounds. *See* Dogs.
Fox hunting, **1:** 245, 247, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 264, 265, 268, 283, 284, 291, 292, 294, 295, 299, 300, 301, 303, 304, 307, 308, 309, 310, 313, 314, 317, 318, 320, 321, 345, 346, 348, 349, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 368, 369, 370, 371, 393, 453, 454; **2:** 3, 4, 7, 12, 41, 42, 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, 61, 62, 75, 85, 88, 90, 91, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 105, 106, 126, 130, 133, 134, 137, 138, 142, 143, 148, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 451, 452, 453, 455, 457, 459, 460; **3:** 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 260, 273, 274, 276, 279, 283, 287, 288, 305; paths cut, **1:** 247.
Foxcraft, John, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 62, 62 n.
Foxes, plentiful, **3:** 9.
Foy, Edward, capt. and secretary to Lord Dunmore, **2:** 97 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 97.
Foy, ——, North Carolina, **4:** 166 n; Washington, **4:** 166.
Foye, James, North Carolina, **4:** 166.
France, attempted bribery of U.S. envoys, **4:** 171 n; chance of war with, **4:** 276; commercial treaty, **4:** 314 n; gift of six million livres to U.S., **2:** 220; King's rejection of mediation offer, **2:** 220; Marshal rank, Washington's statement, **2:** 339 n; Minister of, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 441; letter from, **2:** 230; money held to Washington's order, **2:** 220; opinion of Washington, **2:** 220 n; Minister urges sending of troops to America, **2:** 241; naval officers presented to Washington, **4:** 19; navy to aid America, **2:** 220; rank of U.S. diplomat at Versailles, **4:** 107, 109; speech belt, **1:** 51, 56 n; treachery of French in America, **1:** 79, 82, 95; trespassers on Indian lands, **1:** 48; troops from, **2:** 241; war with, **4:** 280 n; Washington visits French warship in Boston harbor, **4:** 38.
Francis, Tench, of Philadelphia, **3:** 220 n; Washington at, **3:** 220; **4:** 288.
Frankfort, Virginia, **4:** 220.
Franklin, Benjamin, **1:** 276 n, 405 n; **2:** 62 n, 112 n, 210, 210 n, 419; clothes mangle machine: 235; **3,** Washington visits, **3:** 216, 217, 221, 232, 235, 236.
Franklin, William, governor, **2:** 112 n; Washington visits, **2:** 112.

Franklin, ——, overseer, **3**: 132.
Franks, David S., colonel, **4**: 53, 53 n.
Franks Town, Delaware Indians, **1**: 402.
Frazer, ——, Westmoreland County, Washington at, **2**: 19.
Frazer's Ferry, Mattapony River, **1**: 269 n, Washington at, **1**: 269.
Frazier, John, **1**: 52, 54 n, 61 n; Washington at, **1**: 44, 65, 67.
Frederick, Maryland, address to Washington, **4**: 202, 202 n; British convalescent prisoners marched to, **2**: 272; British prisoners sent to, **2**: 269, 269 n, 270, 270 n; Washington at, **2**: 397, 398; **4**: 201, 201 n; Washington describes, **2**: 399.
Frederick, Virginia. *See* Winchester.
Frederick County, Virginia, **1**: 8, 117; **2**: 280; beeves from, **1**: 137, 138, 140, 216; horses from, **1**: 137; small pox in, **1**: 158, 160; Washington in, **2**: 171, 172, 319; Washington's land in, **1**: 318; Washington's rents in, **2**: 429 n; Washington's tenants in, **2**: 457, 457 n.
Frederick Springs. *See* Warm Springs.
Fredericksburg, Virginia, **1**: 274, 398; **2**: 151, 225, 253, 316, 370, 372; **3**: 121, 124, 210; **4**: 156, 157; address to Washington, **4**: 157; barbecue, **1**: 391; British operation against, **2**: 226; church, Washington at, **1**: 392; ferry, **2**: 84 n; Virginia officers meeting, **1**: 391; **2**: 87; Washington at, **1**: 36 n, 43, 266, 274, 296, 298, 315, 323, 351, 356, 379, 389, 391, 392; **2**: 15, 26, 27, 33, 33 n, 39, 40, 55, 56, 56 n, 60, 79, 84, 87, 88, 128, 132, 151, 155, 158, 159, 189, 190, 260 n, 371, 371 n, 372; **3**: 49, 51, 205, 305, 365, 365 n; **4**: 7, 156, 157, 198; 305; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **1**: 389; **3**: 366; Washington and Mrs. Washington go to, **3**: 365, 365 n; Washington's plantation at, **2**: 88.
Fredericksburg, schooner, **1**: 22, 22 n.
Freedom of speech in America, **2**: 166 n.
Freeman, Jonathan, **4**: 274 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 274.
Freeman, Thomas, major, **2**: 292 n, 293 n; **3**: 58, 58 n, 142 n, 143 n; accounts, **3**: 22; agent for Washington's lands, **2**: 233; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 106; instructions from Washington, **2**: 299, 299 n.
French Broad River, **4**: 78, 99.
French Creek, Ohio, **1**: 54, 55, 57, 58 n, 415, 415 n; **2**: 318, 319, 323; French fort on, **1**: 49; Washington's journey down, **2**: 319, 319 n.
French, Daniel, of Fairfax, **1**: 107 n, 154, 387 n; pork from, **1**: 107, 110, 111, 112; Washington at funeral of, **2**: 22.
French, Mrs. Daniel (Penelope Manley), **2**: 50 n, 79, 81, 98, 101; **3**: 110, 114, 117, 126 n, 133, 339; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 50, 79, 149; land boundaries, **2**: 54; land purchased by Washington, **3**: 142; live stock paid for, **3**: 156; plantation, **3**: 114, 126, 127; Washington at, **2**: 106; **3**: 127.
French, Elizabeth, **1**: 387 n; **2**: 70; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 387.
French, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 299.
French's Plantation, **3**: 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 200, 202, 203, 205, 207, 210, 212, 213, 246, 247, 254, 258, 259, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 310, 311, 312, 314, 316, 317, 318, 320, 324, 326, 328, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339, 340, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 363, 364, 367, 369, 371, 373, 374, 375, 377, 381, 382, 383, 385, 387, 389, 393, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 410, 413, 415, 416, 417, 418, 421, 422, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 431, 432, 433, 434, 436, 437, 438, 439, 441, 442, 443, 447, 448, 449, 451, 452, 454, 455, 458; **4**: 4, 5; Washington at, **3**: 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170,

172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188, 194, 196, 198, 200, 203, 209, 211, 213, 240, 242, 243, 244, 252, 255, 256, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 295, 296, 299, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 320, 324, 325, 326, 329, 344, 350, 353, 355, 356, 358, 360, 364, 373, 374, 376, 377, 380, 381, 386, 387, 388, 389, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 418, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 432, 433, 435, 436, 438, 441, 442, 446, 447, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457; **4:** 3, 4, 5, 6; land purchased, **3:** 142; land surveyed by Washington, **3:** 142, 143; stock appraised, **3:** 155, 156; stock purchased, **3:** 156; tenant, **3:** 129.

Freshes (1786), **3:** 101.

Frestal, Felix, **4:** 254 n; leaves Mount Vernon, **4:** 261.

Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Philadelphia, **3:** 224 n; Washington at meeting of, **3:** 224.

Friends, Charles, **2:** 308, 309, 310, 311; Washington at, **2:** 307.

Friend's land, **1:** 136, 139.

Fringe (Smoke) trees, **2:** 338, 346, 355.

Frisby, Anne, **2:** 358 n.

Frisby, Peregrine, **2:** 358 n.

Frogg, John, colonel, **1:** 149 n; offer of land to Washington, **1:** 149, 150.

Frogs Neck, New York, **2:** 242, 243; Washington at, **2:** 245.

Frontiers, **2:** 230, 250; **4:** 60, 60 n, 66, 69, 90, 93.

Frost, **1:** 312; **2:** 363; **3:** 36, 169, 247, 280, 281, 282, 286, 302, 304, 309, 310, 315, 451; **4:** 275; black, **3:** 198; in April, **3:** 36.

Fruit, grafting, **2:** 179; trees sent Washington, **3:** 24.

Fry, Joshua, colonel, **1:** 73, 73 n, 74, 81, 81 n, 86, 86 n; death, **1:** 51.

Fry & Jefferson, map of Virginia, **1:** 4 n, 12 n, 150 n, 336 n.

Frying Pan, copper mine, **2:** 10.

Fuel, coal-wood, **3:** 293, 294, 295.

Fuller, ——, Washington at, **4:** 51.

Fullerton, Richard, captain, **2:** 430 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 430.

Fulton, David, tenant, **2:** 280 n.

Funeral attendance, Presidential precedent, **4:** 52.

Fur trade, **2:** 328.

Furniture, etc., inventory of Presidential, **4:** 254 n.

G

Gabions, making, **2:** 263, 263 n.

Gadsby, John, hotel keeper, Alexandria, **4:** 269 n, 301, 303 n; Washington at, **4:** 257, 269, 269 n.

Gage, Thomas, lieutenant general, **1:** 342 n; **2:** 112 n, 113, 113 n; Washington visits, **2:** 113.

Gaine, Hugh, **1:** 72, 76, 77.

Gaines, ——, major, Washington at, **1:** 156, 156 n.

Gale, George, **4:** 87, 87 n, 222 n.

Gale, ——, **4:** 113.

Gale's March, location, **1:** 368.

Galebury bushes, **1:** 190.

Galloway, Benjamin, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 97.

Galloway, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, **1:** 373 n; **2:** 11 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 373.

Galloway, Samuel, **2:** 11 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 11; Washington at, **2:** 34, 35.

Galt's Tavern, Richmond, Washington at, **2:** 189.

Gantt, John M., **4:** 200 n.

Garden, Mount Vernon, **2:** 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350; **3:** 6, 307; houses, **3:** 11, 39, 192; new, **1:** 297; wall, **3:** 39.

Gardener, William, overseer, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 453.

Gardener, **1:** 212; German, **3:** 444, 445.

Gardeur de St. Pierre, **1:** 47, speech to the Half King, **1:** 49.

Gardner, Joseph, tobacco rent, **1:** 167 n.
Gardner, William, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 253.
Gardner, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 315.
Gardoqui, Don Diego, **3:** 235 n, 236; **4:** 17, 17 n, 89; dines with Washington, **3:** 236; Washington visits, **3:** 235.
Garineau's, Bronx river, New York, **2:** 242, 242 n.
Garnet, ——, Georgia, Washington at, **4:** 178.
Gas, natural, **1:** 429, 429 n.
Gaskens, ——, major, **1:** 2, 5.
Gaspée, burning of, **2:** 154 n.
Gate, Mount Vernon, **2:** 383; **3:** 28, 29, 30, 34; front, **2:** 370; Palmetto royals planted at, **2:** 391.
Gates, Horatio, major general, **2:** 194 n, 268 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 194.
Gates, Isaac, **2:** 89, 89 n, 100, 335.
Gatewood, ——, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 192.
Gatinais Regiment, **2:** 259 n.
Gauly Mountain, West Virginia, **2:** 312, 315.
Gause, William, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 168.
Geese, Chinese, **3:** 14; wild, **1:** 415; **2:** 352, 377.
General Washington, ship, **2:** 236.
Genet, Edmund Charles, **4:** 53.
Genn, James, **1:** 44, n.
George, Delaware Indian, **1:** 100.
Georgetown, Maryland, **2:** 52; **3:** 181, 186, 200; **4:** 152, 153; address to Washington, **4:** 255 n; District of Columbia Commissioners meeting at, **4:** 199; French Minister at, **3:** 442; jealousy of Carrollsburg, **4:** 154; military escort for Washington, **4:** 287; Potomac Company meeting at, **2:** 394, 424 **3:** 257; **4:** 258, 270, 270 n, 310; Washington at, **1:** 348, 363 n, 368; **2:** 51, 111, 170, 394, 424, 424 n; **3:** 238, 257; **4:** 152, 153, 155, 199, 201, 229, 234, 237, 239, 242, 255, 255 n, 257 n, 258, 258 n, 270, 270 n, 287, 310, 317 n; Washington's observations on land between Harper's Ferry and, **2:** 398, 399.
Georgetown, South Carolina, **2:** 230; **4:** 170, 170 n; Washington at, **4:** 169, 170.
Georgetown Academy, **2:** 344, 344 n, 446 n; Washington's nephews at, **2:** 446.
George Washington Inn, Bladensburg, **4:** 152 n.
George's Creek, **1:** 401 n, 406, 452; Washington at, **1:** 401; **2:** 287, 301.
Georgia, address to Washington, **4:** 103, 103 n, 104; British posts in, **2:** 245; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 220; runaway slaves, **4:** 103 n; sale of Indian lands, **4:** 122, 122 n, 125, 125 n, 126, 127, 157, 192, 196; threatened by Creeks, **4:** 103 n; Washington's comment on the country, **4:** 179.
German emigrants, **1:** 9, 10, 10 n.
German Flats, New York, **2:** 216, 216 n.
German troops, **2:** 252, 253.
Germantown, Pennsylvania, Stuart's studio at, **4:** 247 n; Washington at, **3:** 233; **4:** 247.
Gerry, Elbridge, **4:** 51, 51 n, 62, 91, 113, 129, 171 n.
Gerry, Mrs. Elbridge, **4:** 59, 59 n.
Gerrymander, **4:** 51 n.
Ghan, ——, of Sweden, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 276.
Gibbes, ——, of Rhode Island, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 270.
Gibbons, Thomas, mayor, **4:** 176.
Gibbs, Caleb, major, **3:** 81 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 81, 83.
Gibbs, Joel, **4:** 222 n.
Giberne, Isaac William, clergyman, **1:** 113, 113 n, 114; Washington at, 114.
Gibson, George, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 9.
Gibson, John, **1:** 191 n; **2:** 157 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 157.
Gibson, William, treatises on horse care, **1:** 133.
Gilbert, Felix, **2:** 314, 314 n.
Gildermeester, Henry, **3:** 139 n.

Gill, John, **4:** 316, 317, 317 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 315.
Gillam (Killam), Joseph, **1:** 401 n, 406 n; Washington at, **1:** 401, 406, 407.
Gilman, Nicholas, major, **4:** 43 n, 61, 66 n, 102, 128, 140; dines with Washington, **4:** 43.
Gilmar, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 315.
Gilpin, George, colonel, **2:** 377, 377 n, 400, 402, 424, 431; **3:** 25, 51, 85, 122, 361, 448; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 337, 380, 432, 452; **3:** 60, 115, 241, 279, 300, 351, 384, 416; **4:** 5, 260; survey at Great Falls, **2:** 424; **3:** 10; Washington at, **2:** 412, 414, 417; **3:** 75, 83.
Ginseng, **2:** 289, 289 n.
Gist, Christopher, **1:** 43, 43 n, 57, 57 n, 58 n, 62 n, 63 n, 64, 64 n, 80, 80 n, 85, 86, 91, 92, 93; **2:** 141 n; diary of journey with Washington, **1:** 56 n; fingers and toes frozen, **1:** 65; new settlement, **1:** 46, 46 n, 80 n, 81; Washington at, **1:** 67.
Gist, John, 224, 395; **2:** 76; tobacco rent, **1:** 167 n.
Gist, Mordecai, brigade, **2:** 271, 271 n, 272.
Gist, Thomas, **1:** 407 n; **2:** 141 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 80, 141, 143; Washington at, **1:** 407, 449; **2:** 289.
Glades, Youghiogheny River, **2:** 281.
Glasford, ——, lieutenant, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386.
Glass works, New Haven, **4:** 25.
Glebe, of Truro Parish, **1:** 125 n, 142 n, 237, 237 n, 238 n; Washington at, **1:** 125.
Glen, James, tenant, **2:** 294.
Glen, John, squatter, **2:** 298.
Glen Cove, Long Island. *See* Mosquito Cove.
Gloucester, Virginia, **2:** 255; Washington at, **1:** 324; **2:** 58.
Gloucester hickory nut, **3:** 29, 30.
Goart, Joseph, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 351, 366, 366 n.
Goddard, William, **3:** 341 n.
Golden, ——, Maryland, Washington at, **4:** 219.
Golden Buck, inn, Winchester, **2:** 9 n.
Goldsborough (Goldsbury), Robert, **1:** 341 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 341; letter to, **2:** 259 n.
Goldsborough, ——, **2:** 345; Washington at, **2:** 402, 415; **3:** 84.
Gooch, William, governor, **1:** 120 n.
Good Friday, **4:** 111.
Goodale, Nathan, **4:** 40 n.
Goodhue, Benjamin, **4:** 40 n, 67, 102, 129.
Goodwin, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 446.
Goose Creek, Virginia, **2:** 10 n; Washington at, **2:** 10, 10 n, 65, 145.
Goose yard, **1:** 254.
Gordon, William, clergyman, **3:** 15, 15 n.
Gore, Christopher, **4:** 113, 113 n.
Government, dignity guarded, **4:** 106; seat of established, **4:** 142, 142 n.
Graeme, George, judge, **1:** 25, 25 n, 26.
Grafting, **1:** 146, 199, 200, 209, 210, 211, 258; **2:** 179, 355, 356; **3:** 13.
Graham, Edward, Washington's letter to, **1:** 391 n.
Graham, George, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 281.
Graham, John, **1:** 112 n; **2:** 7.
Graham, Richard, of Dumfries, **1:** 277 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 277; **2:** 170.
Graham, Robert, of Fairfax, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 175.
Graham, William, physician, **2:** 380 n, 381 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 380, 381, 382, 383.
Graham, ——, Dumfries, Washington at, **2:** 12.
Graham, ——, widow, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 266.
Graham's Ordinary, Dumfries, Washington at, **2:** 189.
Grain, threshing ideas, **3:** 272.
Grand Chaudiere (Big Kettle), **1:** 91.
Grandchain, Chevalier de, major, **2:** 265, 265 n.
Grange, The, Washington at, **2:** 164 n.
Grant, James, major, **1:** 102 n, 108 n.

Granthum, W., **2:** 280 n.
Grape Vine Town, Ohio, traders killed at, **1:** 415, 417.
Grapes, **2:** 43, 46, 145; **3:** 36; vines, **1:** 258, 265.
Grass, **2:** 368, 384, 435; **3:** 53, 69, 159, 161, 177, 180, 184, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 204, 207, 208, 240, 241, 316, 318, 319, 320, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 333, 334, 352, 358, 363, 370, 371, 373; bird, **2:** 361, 362; **3:** 198, 201, 202; blue, **2:** 384, 385; **3:** 322, 360; border, **3:** 57; Buffalo, **2:** 426; Burnet, **1:** 323; **3:** 34, 45, 46, 49, 53, 58, 271, 324, 334; clover, **1:** 149, 151, 152, 155, 158, 186, 212, 323, 361, 429; **3:** 28, 30, 32, 52, 54, 57, 61, 62, 71, 73, 74, 80, 81, 109, 161, 175, 176, 180, 181, 184, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 201, 205, 206, 207, 210, 211, 213, 222, 270, 271, 276, 303, 314, 315, 319, 320, 327, 328, 330, 331, 334, 341, 342, 343, 344, 348, 351, 360, 367, 368, 369; **4:** 4; cut, **1:** 275; **2:** 24, 28, 385; **3:** 77, 79, 87, 374, 409; English, **2:** 420, 421, 422; experiment, **2:** 435, **3:** 54; guinea, **2:** 360, 362, 373, 384, 388, 407, 410, 426, 431, 435; **3:** 37, 54, 64; hop, **3:** 270; land, **2:** 358, 359; lucerne, **1:** 135, 141 n, 142, 149, 151, 155, 158, 162 n, 202, 211, 263; orchard, **2:** 365, 367, 368, 369, 374, 420, 427; **3:** 32, 39, 48, 54, 83, 95, 96, 159, 161, 175, 176, 180, 189, 190, 193, 194, 201, 206, 207, 211, 271, 314, 331, 332, 333, 348, 419; plaster of paris on, **2:** 429, 432, 433; ray, **3:** 261, 270; rib, **3:** 34, 44, 45, 46, 49, 58, 261, 271; rye, **1:** 149, 178, 199, 200; saint foin, **1:** 202, 211, 323; **3:** 34, 46, 49, 53, 58, 98, 241, 243, 252, 255, 261, 271, 331; seed, **1:** 319; **3:** 159; sown, **1:** 323, 345, 358, 361, 362, 365, 367, 369, 373, 379, 413, 421, 422, 430, 435; **3:** 34; sown on snow, **3:** 166; **4:** 4, 5; timothy, **1:** 178, 185, 186, 201, 212, 239, 275, 281, 289, 427, 430, 431, 433; **3:** 34, 52, 60, 61, 113, 116, 159, 160, 161, 165, 166, 171, 175, 176, 177, 180, 184, 187, 188, 189, 193, 196, 201, 204, 206, 207, 209, 210, 241, 293, 303, 314, 316, 319, 320, 327, 328, 334, 335, 341, 352, 363, 419, **4:** 4; trefoil, **1:** 148, 151, 162, 178, **3:** 241, 252, 255, 271.
Grasse, François Joseph Paul, Comte de, Marquis de Tilly, commander in chief, French navy in America, **2:** 240, 257; arrival, **2:** 240 n, 247, 254, 258; at siege of Yorktown, **2:** 261, 262, 265, 271, 272, 272 n; defeated off Martinique, **2:** 252 n; departure from Cape François, **2:** 253–54; efforts to sail to meet British, **2:** 272; encounter with Graves, **2:** 260, 260 n; land force with, **2:** 249, 254, 258, 259 n; length of stay on American coast, **2:** 254, 261; letter to, **2:** 241; naval strength, **2:** 258; the Wilmington expedition, **2:** 270, 271, 271 n; Washington visits, **2:** 260, 270; Washington's questions to, **2:** 260, 261 n.
Gratton, Mrs. ——, concerts, **4:** 253 n; Washington attends, **4:** 253.
Graves, Thomas, Lord, rear admiral, **2:** 260, 260 n.
Gravesend, Long Island, **4:** 117; Washington at, **4:** 116.
Gray, George, **3:** 225 n.
Gray, Robert, **3:** 225 n.
Gray, ——, **3:** 180.
Gray's Ferry, Schuylkill River, **3:** 225 n; Washington at, **3:** 216, 217, 225, 228, 234, 237.
Grayson, Benjamin, **1:** 300 n; **2:** 423 n.
Grayson, Spencer, clergyman, **2:** 423, 423 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 424.
Grayson, William, lieutenant colonel, **1:** 300 n; **2:** 390 n, 423 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 344, 345, 372; **2:** 186; **3:** 9; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 300, 345; Washington's letter to, **2:** 390.
Grayson County, Virginia, name, **1:** 300 n.
Great Bent (or Bend), Ohio River, **1:** 404 n; Washington at, **1:** 404.
Great Bridge, Dismal Swamp, **1:** 193, 194.
Great Britain, **1:** 43 n; **2:** 326; **4:** 16 n,

109, 132, 136, 138, 262, 262 n; Washington's opinion of her intentions, **4**: 139.
Great Buffalo Lick, West Virginia, **1**: 445 n.
Great Crossing, Youghiogheny River, **2**: 281.
Great Falls of the Potomac, **2**: 395, 448; canal at, **2**: 415, 424, 425; **3**: 10, 11, 26; Potomac Company meeting at, **3**: 7, 10, 25, 122; survey, **2**: 424; **3**: 10; Washington at, **2**: 415; **3**: 10, 11, 25, 75, 85, 122; **4**: 257, 257 n; Washington's guide to, **2**: 424 n; water transportation from Fort Cumberland, **2**: 401; works at, **3**: 265, 360, 361.
Great Falls Manor, Virginia, **1**: 131 n.
Great Hockhocking River, Ohio, **1**: 402 n, 432; **2**: 318; Washington at, **1**: 402, 450.
Great Hunting Creek, **1**: 120 n.
Great Kanhawa (or New) River, **1**: 402, 404 n, 409, 427, 430, 431, 440, 441; birds on, **1**: 427; country, **1**: 431; courses taken by Washington, **1**: 428 n, 429 n; distances, **1**: 430; falls, **1**: 409, 426, 431; **2**: 311, 315, 322; fish in, **2**: 312; lands described by Washington, **1**: 427, 428, 430, 431; lease offer for Washington's lands on, **4**: 264 n; Virginia soldiers' lands on, **1**: 428, 428 n; Washington on, **1**: 404, 426, 427, 428, 450.
Great Lakes, trade routes to the Atlantic coast, **2**: 320–28.
Great Meadows, Pennsylvania, **1**: 407 n; **2**: 289; **3**: 143 n; Indians at, **1**: 100, 101; Washington at, **2**: 288.
Great Miami River, Ohio, **1**: 445, 445 n.
Great Salt Lick, West Virginia, **1**: 445 n.
Green, Charles, clergyman, **1**: 108, 108 n, 120 n, 125 n, 130, 130 n, 145, 146, 154, 164 n, 377 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 108, 143.
Green, Peter, **1**: 212.
Green, Thomas, **2**: 456; **3**: 358; papers room at Mount Vernon, **3**: 114; share of pork, **3**: 148, 151.
Green house, **3**: 15.
Green River, **4**: 101.
Green Spring Iron Furnace, **2**: 183 n.
Green's tavern, Long Island, Washington at, **4**: 118.
Greenbrier River, West Virginia, **2**: 311, 313, 315, 320, 322.
Greenbury Point, Chesapeake Bay, Washington aground on, **4**: 151.
Greencastle, Pennsylvania, Washington at, **4**: 218.
Greene, Christopher, colonel, **2**: 213, 213 n, 215.
Greene, Nathanael, major general, **2**: 227 n, 234, 270, 272 n, 347, 382; **4**: 183; letters from, **2**: 226, 226 n, 245, 245 n.
Greene, Mrs. Nathanael, **4**: 13, 13 n, 55 n, 57, 109; theater tickets sent by Washington, **4**: 55, 56; Washington visits, **4**: 176, 178.
Greene, William, governor, **2**: 251 n; letter to, **2**: 224 n, 251.
Greenhow, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 291.
Greenville, North Carolina, **4**: 164 n; Washington at, **4**: 162, 164.
Greenway Court, Clark County, Virginia, **1**: 4 n, 129 n, 130 n; Washington at, **1**: 317; **2**: 9.
Gregorian calendar, **1**: 3 n.
Gregory, ——, captain, **3**: 386 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 386, 412, 413.
Grennel, ——, **1**: 376.
Grenville, Henry, governor, **1**: 27 n.
Gribbel, John, **1**: xii, xx.
Griffin, Lady Christiana (Mrs. Cyrus Griffin), **4**: 13, 13 n, 58, 58 n, 115.
Griffin, Cyrus, **4**: 58 n, 115.
Griffin, Samuel, colonel, **4**: 58, 58 n, 91, 115; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 259, 316; Washington visits, **2**: 163, 168, 196, 198.
Griffith, David, clergyman, **2**: 335 n; **3**: 163 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 12, 335, 423, 424, 434; **3**: 36, 37, 163, 170, 178, 243, 318, 378; geese purchased from, **3**: 14; sends trees, **3**: 37.
Griggs, Thomas, tenant, **2**: 280 n.
Grist-mill, Washington's, **4**: 309 n.

Grosvenor, Thomas, colonel, Pomfret, **4:** 49 n; Washington at, **4:** 49.
Grout, Jonathan, **4:** 87, 87 n, 111, 129.
Grymes, Benjamin, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 195, 397.
Grymes, Lucy, **1:** 292.
Grymes, ——, of Dumfries, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 291.
Gubner, Dominicus, agreement, **1:** 399, 399 n.
Guilford Court House, **4:** 191 n; Washington views battle ground, **4:** 191.
Gülager, Christian, artist, portrait of Washington, **4:** 37 n, 45, 45 n.
Gum Spring, Mount Vernon, **2:** 32; **3:** 288; new road, **1:** 258, 258 n; road to Alexandria, **3:** 446.
Gunn, James, **4:** 124, 124 n.
Gunning (shooting, etc.), **1:** 246, 253, 269, 294, 295, 303, 366; **2:** 89, 138; for pheasant, **1:** 303; Washington and Col. Bassett, **2:** 18. *See also* Duck hunting.
Gunpowder Plot, **1:** 23.
Gunston Hall, Virginia, **2:** 352; dancing school meets at, **1:** 373 n; Washington at, **2:** 450.
Gutters, copper, **2:** 420.
Gwinnett, Button, Signer, **4:** 176.
Gwynn, Evan, tavern, Allegheny, Pennsylvania, **2:** 287 n, 289; Washington at, **2:** 287.
G——, S——, spy, letter from, **2:** 221, 221 n.

H

Habersham, Joseph, colonel, **4:** 175, 175 n, 176 n.
Hacket, Nathaniel. *See* Haggett.
Haddrel's Point, South Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 171.
Hadfield, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 338.
Hagan, (Hagin) Charles, **3:** 337, 338, 357; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 329.
Haggett (Hacket), Nathaniel, judge, **1:** 23, 23 n, 24.
Ha-Ha walls, Mount Vernon, **2:** 340, 340 n, 349, 360.
Hail, **2:** 347.
Hains, James, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 27, 35, 36.
Hale, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 322.
Half King (Tanacharisson), Seneca chief, **1:** 45, 45 n, 46, 47, 51, 56, 56 n, 61, 62, 63, 80, 84 n, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101; discovers Jumonville's party, **1:** 87; letter to Washington, **1:** 84, 84 n; speech, **1:** 78, 78 n; speeches to the French, **1:** 48, 57, 60; speeches to Washington, **1:** 50, 51, 75 n, 76, 77, 78, 78 n; travels with Washington, **1:** 54; Washington's speeches to, **1:** 79, 82, 100, 101.
Halifax, North Carolina, **4:** 163; Washington at, **4:** 162, 163.
Halifax, old town, Virginia, **4:** 193, 197; Washington at, **4:** 192, 196.
Halkerston, ——, physician, Washington at, **1:** 156, 156 n.
Hall, Caleb, wheelwright, Washington's terms to, **3:** 137.
Hall, Joseph, major, **4:** 32, 32 n.
Hall, ——, of Eastern Shore, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 113.
Hall, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 367.
Hall, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 110; **3:** 420.
Halley, John, **3:** 62.
Halloway, ——, tenant, **2:** 98.
Halsted, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 303.
Hamilton, Alexander, **3:** 219; **4:** 57, 67 n, 71 n, 81 n, 82, 85, 109, 114, 121 n, 126 n, 133, 196 n, 212, 236, 252, 252 n; **4:** 16, 17, 20 n, 55 n, 137, 139 n, 142 n, 143, 159, 159 n; conference with, **4:** 14, 124, 126; to consult Jefferson and Knox in Washington's absence, **4:** 156; letter from, **4:** 155 n; opinion requested, **4:** 90, 139; report on the Public Credit, **4:** 65, 65 n; with Washington in Whiskey

Rebellion, **4**: 209; theater tickets sent by Washington, **4**: 55.
Hamilton, Andrew, **2**: 166 n.
Hamilton, James, governor, **1**: 77 n.
Hamilton, James, **2**: 166 n; Washington at, **2**: 166.
Hamilton, Robert, lieutenant, **1**: 412 n; with Washington, **1**: 412.
Hamilton, William, **2**: 164 n; Washington at, **2**: 164.
Hamilton, William, Washington at, **2**: 198.
Hamilton, William, of Philadelphia, **3**: 218 n, 220 n; Washington at, **3**: 218, 220, 232.
Hamilton, W., captain, **2**: 168 n, Washington at, **2**: 168.
Hamilton, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 307.
Hamilton, ——, of West Indies, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 388.
Hamilton, ——, Washington at, **2**: 293.
Hamilton's Island, Ohio River, **1**: 412 n.
Hammond, Thomas, captain, imprisonment at San Jago, **4**: 93, 93 n.
Hampshire County, Virginia, **2**: 280.
Hampshire County, Massachusetts, militia, **2**: 229, 250.
Hampton, Wade, colonel, **4**: 181, 181 n.
Hampton Roads, Virginia, **2**: 251 n, 252, 253, 255.
Hamtramck, John Francis, major, **4**: 141 n; report, **4**: 141.
Hanbury & Co. London, **3**: 50 n.
Hanbury, Capel and Osgood, **1**: 125, 125 n.
Hancock, John, governor, **4**: 31; **2**: 229, 229 n; attitude as to precedence of a governor over the President of U.S., **4**: 31 n, 33 n, 34 n; conduct on Washington's arrival at Boston, **4**: 34 n, 36 n; dinner invitation cancelled by Washington, **4**: 35; failure to answer Washington, **2**: 247; gout attack, **4**: 36 n; invites Washington to his house, **4**: 31, 31 n; letter, **4**: 91 n; letter to, **2**: 247, 247 n; visits Washington, **4**: 36, 36 n; Washington's letter to, **2**: 224 n; Washington visits, **4**: 36.
Hancock, ——, of London, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 412.
Hancock, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 305.
Hancock Town, Maryland, **4**: 219.
Hand, Edward, brigadier general, **4**: 203, 203 n, 212, 218, 221 n; Washington at, **4**: 204.
Hanna, Frank, **2**: 51 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 51.
Hannah's lane, **1**: 185.
Hanover (McAlisters town), Pennsylvania, Washington at, **4**: 202.
Hanover Court House, Virginia, **2**: 225, 372; Washington at, **2**: 189, 190, 371, 371 n; **3**: 50.
Hanson, Alexander Contee, **4**: 152 n.
Hanson, John, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 61, 61 n.
Hanson, Miss Nellie, **2**: 408 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 355, 359, 408.
Hanson, Samuel, of Maryland, **2**: 381 n, 459; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 97, 137, 381, 435, 458; **3**: 100, 318; fox hunting with Washington, **2**: 459; Washington visits, **3**: 311.
Hanson, Thomas, **2**: 459; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 355, 435, 458; **3**: 100; fox hunting with Washington, **2**: 459.
Hanway, Samuel, captain, **2**: 301, 301 n, 310; Washington at, **2**: 303.
Harbors, Long Island Sound, **2**: 210, 211.
Harden (Hardin) John, captain, son, **1**: 409; **2**: 299, 299 n.
Hardin, Benjamin, captain, **2**: 299 n.
Hardwick, Christopher, overseer, **1**: 108, 115, 115 n, 144; injured, **1**: 152; tobacco crop, **1**: 167 n; tobacco rent, **1**: 166 n.
Hardwick, Thomas, overseer, injured, **1**: 160.
Hardwick, ——, dines with Washington, **1**: 341.
Hare hunting, **1**: 269.
Hares, killed by Washington, **2**: 18.
Harewood (Samuel Washington's es-

tate), **1**: 404 n; **2**: 144 n; Washington at, **2**: 144.
Harford, Maryland, Washington at, **4**: 234, 237, 239, 241, 254, 288, 290.
Harlem, New York, Washington meets Mrs. Washington at, **4**: 19.
Harlem River, New York, **2**: 235, 235 n, 244.
Harmar, Josiah, general, **4**: 140 n; expedition, **4**: 140, 140 n, 141, 141 n; letter, **4**: 140.
Harper, John, captain, **2**: 114 n, 185 n, 186 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 114, 115, 185.
Harper, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 282, 283.
Harper's Ferry, Virginia, **1**: 138 n; **2**: 399, 400, 401; **4**: 316; Washington at, **2**: 398, 400, 401; Washington's observations on land between Georgetown and, **2**: 398.
Harpsicord, Nelly Custis's, tuned, **4**: 269.
Harris, Henry, **1**: 10.
Harris, ——, physician, **1**: 346, 375; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 346.
Harris, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 160.
Harris, ——, physician, **4**: 171 n.
Harris, ——, **4**: 158.
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Washington at, **4**: 211, 211 n.
Harrison, Benjamin, Signer, **2**: 159 n; Washington at, **2**: 130, 187, 188.
Harrison, Benjamin, Jr., colonel, **2**: 382, 383.
Harrison, Burr, of Chipawansic, **1**: 369 n.
Harrison, Charles, colonel, **3**: 115, 423, 424.
Harrison, Fairfax, **1**: xii.
Harrison, Nathaniel, **2**: 80 n, 290 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 184; Washington visits **1**: 290, 325.
Harrison, Mrs. Nathaniel (Lucy Carter), **1**: 290 n.
Harrison, Richard, of New York, **4**: 58, 58 n, 84 n, 85, 85 n.
Harrison, Richard, of Alexandria, **2**: 127 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 108, 144; **4**: 26.
Harrison, Richard, consul, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 449; **4**: 276.
Harrison, Robert, of Alexandria, **2**: 157 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 169, 251.
Harrison, Robert Hanson, **1**: 344 n, 349 n; **2**: 362 n, 385; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 344, 345, 350; **2**: 49, 124, 127, 147, 382, 445; **3**: 75, 140, 272, 369, 395; fee, **1**: 349 n, 350 n; fox hunting with Washington, **1**: 345; **2**: 49; legal opinions, **2**: 124 n; resigns from Supreme Court, **4**: 85.
Harrison, Thomas, Harrison's Patent, **1**: 369.
Harrison, William, Harrison's Patent, **1**: 369 n; with Washington, **1**: 412.
Harrison, William, of Maryland, **3**: 28 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 28.
Harrison, William B., major, **4**: 304 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 304.
Harrison, ——, North Carolina, Washington at, **4**: 185.
Harrison, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 173.
Harrison, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 362, 364; **3**: 115.
Harrison's Patent, **1**: 369, 369 n; **2**: 343.
Harrison County, Virginia, **4**: 93.
Harrod's tavern, Haverhill, Washington at, **4**: 46 n.
Hart, Jonathan, captain, **4**: 138 n; intemperate language, **4**: 139; report, **4**: 141.
D'Hart, Miss ——, of New Jersey, **3**: 130 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 130, 131.
Hart's tavern, Brookhaven, Washington at, **4**: 118.
Hartford, Connecticut, **2**: 248; **4**: 27, 28; address to Washington, **4**: 28, 28 n; French army at, **2**: 228; Washington at, **4**: 27, 50, 51.
Hartley, Thomas, colonel, **4**: 72, 73, 105, 105 n, 203 n; Washington at, **4**: 203.
Hartshorne, William, **2**: 336, 350, 391, 391 n; **3**: 432; **4**: 272 n, 278 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 279, 346, 384; **4**: 260, 278; flour sent to, **3**: 4.
Harvard College, President etc., ad-

dress to Washington, **4:** 37, 37 n; Washington at, **4:** 39; Washington's portrait, **4:** 60, 60 n, 66.
Harvest and harvesting, **1:** 185, 186, 200, 201, 212, 214, 226, 227, 229, 238, 239, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 288, 289, 293, 297, 301, 311, 330, 332, 333, 334, 337, 338, 339, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390; **2:** 24, 25, 27, 28, 69, 70, 72, 85, 391, 393, 394; **3:** 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 99, 391, 392; **3:** 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 416, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 425, 428, 431, 432, 433, 434, 447, 450; **4:** 257; interrupted by rain, **3:** 385, 386, 388; Washington describes a new plan, **3:** 91, 92, 93; Washington in harvest field, **1:** 386, 387, 388.
Harvey, John, **1:** 380.
Harvey, William, mayor, **4:** 157 n.
Hasler, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 287.
Hatfield, ——, of England, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 90.
Hathorn, John, **4:** 111, 111 n.
Haven, Samuel, clergyman, visits Washington, **4:** 45, 45 n.
Haverhill, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 46, 47.
Haviland, Ebenezer, surgeon, **4:** 21 n.
Haviland, Mrs. Tamar, inn, **4:** 21 n; Washington at, **4:** 21, 22, 51.
Havre de Grace, Maryland, **4:** 237, 237 n; Washington at, **3:** 215, 238.
Hawkins, Benjamin, **4:** 72, 85, 94, 95, 133; correspondence with McGillivray, **4:** 90; letters to, **4:** 87.
Hawkins, Mrs. ——, tavern, Alexandria, Washington at, **2:** 139, 139 n, 169 n, 186 n, 192, 193; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 174 n.
Hawkins, Thomas, **2:** 386 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 386.
Hawthorn, planted, **3:** 36.
Hay, Anthony, proprietor, Raleigh tavern, Williamsburg, **2:** 151 n, 324 n, 379, 380; Washington at, **1:** 324, 325, 325 n, 352, 353, 355, 379, 379 n, 380. *See also* Raleigh tavern.
Hay, **1:** 126, 127, 186, 200, 201, 212, 226, 227, 278, 339, 385, 390; **2:** 24, 385, 386, 392; **3:** 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 94, 109, 170, 177, 358, 363, 364, 365, 396, 431. *See also* Grass.
Hayden, ——, **2:** 13 n.
Hayfield, Virginia, **4:** 301 n.
Hayne, Robert Y., **4:** 169 n.
Hazen, Moses, colonel, regiment, **2:** 223, 235, 252, 255, 257.
Head of Elk, Maryland, **2:** 254, 254 n, 255, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263, 271; accident to Washington near, **3:** 237, 238; Washington at, **3:** 215, 237.
Headrick, ——, **2:** 285.
Heath, Daniel, Washington at, **2:** 111.
Heath, William, major general, **2:** 211, 211 n, 212; **4:** 36, 36 n; letters, **2:** 229, 229 n, 235, 235 n; mission to state legislatures, **2:** 211, 212; reports, **2:** 211 n; letter from, **2:** 229, 229 n; **4:** 36 n; bears message to Washington, **4:** 36.
Heath, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 291.
Hedge, at Mount Vernon, greenbrier, **2:** 431.
Hedges, Joshua, **1:** 340 n; Washington at, **1:** 340, 344.
Hedges, Solomon, **1:** 8 n; Washington at, **1:** 8.
Heister, Daniel, **4:** 72, 111, 111 n, 129.
Hell Hole, Mount Vernon, **1:** 186, 214, 308, 311; **2:** 138, 336, 337, 342, 346, 351; **3:** 32; road across, **1:** 314, 314 n.
Hemlock trees, **3:** 349, 355, 373, 387, 392, 394, 424; **3:** 9.
Hemp, **1:** 211, 213, 214, 215, 223, 324, 225, 226, 236, 238.
Hempstead Plains, Long Island, **2:** 222, 222 n.
Henderson, Alexander, **1:** 301, 301 n, 335, 335 n; **2:** 353 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 186, 354; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 302; Virginia commissioner on trade relations with Maryland, **2:** 353.
Henderson, Richard, Bladensburg, Washington at, **3:** 215.
Hendricks, Henry, **2:** 194 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 194.
Henley, David, colonel, **4:** 265; at

Mount Vernon, **2**: 382, 414, 451; **3**: 141; **4**: 265.
Henley, Miss Fanny, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 258, 264.
Henry, John, **4**: 70, 70 n, 94, 94 n, 109.
Henry, Patrick, **2**: 159 n, 162, 162 n, 351, 371 n, 390; **3**: 29, 212 n; interest in Yazoo Company, **4**: 157; Washington visits, **2**: 371, 372.
Hepburn, ——, **2**: 193 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 193.
Hepburn & Dundas, **2**: 193 n.
Herbert, John, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 275, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 299, 302, 305, 314, 319.
Herbert, John Carlyle, **4**: 275 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 279, 311.
Herbert, William, **2**: 98 n, 108; **3**: 434; **4**: 299 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 98, 106, 107, 124, 126, 137, 149, 161, 190, 193, 381, 413; **3**: 27, 77, 78, 98, 117, 279, 331, 391; **4**: 6, 291, 299, 309, 311, 315, 441; Washington at, **2**: 427; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **3**: 241.
Herbert, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 314.
Herbert, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 299.
Herbert & Co., fish contract with Washington, **1**: 386 n.
Hereford's, Shenandoah Valley, **1**: 340.
Heron, Great Blue, **1**: 426 n.
Herrings. *See* Fish.
Hesse-Cassel, Germany, **2**: 213 n.
Hessians, **2**: 213 n, 239.
Hessian fly, **3**: 125; **4**: 21, 21 n, 22 n.
Heth, Henry, captain, **2**: 225 n.
Heth, William, colonel, **3**: 306 n; **4**: 272 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 272, 306; **4**: 274, 274 n.
Heyward, Thomas, Jr., Signer, Washington at house of, **4**: 172 n, 175.
Hibert, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 371.
Hickman, Joseph, tenant, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 457.
Hickory trees, **2**: 362; **3**: 30, 54.
Hides, **1**: 162.
Higgens, John, **1**: 340.
Hill, James, overseer, **2**: 86, 86 n, 87.
Hill, ——, of Maryland, **1**: 284 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 284.
Hill, ——, of Philadelphia, Washington at, **2**: 198.
Hill, ——, **3**: 82.
Hillary, William, doctor, **1**: 22, 22 n.
Hillas, William, **2**: 295, 298.
Hillast, Michael, **2**: 295.
Hills, Henry, **2**: 164 n; Washington at, **2**: 164.
Hills, The (Robert Morris's), **3**: 218 n; Washington at, **3**: 218, 223, 233, 234, 236.
Hilton, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 313.
Hiltzheimer, Jacob, **4**: 234 n.
Hindman, James, colonel, letter to, **2**: 259 n.
Hipkins, ——, Little Falls warehouse, **2**: 415; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 12; Washington at, **2**: 416, 416 n, 417.
Hitchcock, ——, Brookfield, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4**: 31.
Hite, Jacob, Washington at, **1**: 340.
Hite, Jost, **1**: 5, 5 n; dispute with Lord Fairfax, **1**: 340 n; Washington at, **1**: 12.
Hite, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 102.
Hite, ——, captain, **2**: 314; accompanies Washington, **2**: 313; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 31.
Hites, Abraham, colonel, **2**: 312 n, 314; Washington at, **2**: 312, 313.
Hite's Island, Potomac River, **2**: 403.
Hitt, Jesse, **2**: 460.
Hiwassee, Tennessee, **4**: 99, 101.
Hix Ford, near Meherrin River, **4**: 161 n; Washington at, **4**: 161.
Hoban, James, captain, **4**: 255 n.
Hobart, John Sloss, **4**: 61, 61 n.
Hobbs Hole (Tappahannock, Virginia), **1**: 36, 269 n; Washington at, **1**: 30, 269; **2**: 19.
Hobkirk's Hill, South Carolina, Washington's comment on battle, **4**: 183, 184.
Hoburn, Francis, commodore, **1**: 26, 26 n.
Hockhocking River. *See* Little Hockhocking. *Also* Great Hockhocking.

Hodgden (Hodgson?), William, **3**: 367 n; **4**: 299; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 367; **4**: 270, 280, 299, 307.
Hoes, Rice, colonel, **1**: 156; **2**: 125 n; **3**: 23 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 23.
Hoes' Ferry, Potomac River, Washington at, **1**: 27, 155 n, 158, 290.
Hog, Peter, captain, **1**: 74, 86.
Hog Island, James River, Washington at, **1**: 296 n, 297.
Hogeland, John, Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny, **1**: 449 n; Washington at, **1**: 449, 452.
Hogs, **1**: 110, 111, 112, 116, 123, 142, 209, 301; **2**: 429, 436, 442, 455, 458; **3**: 136, 140, 142, 148, 150, 259, 264, 265, 282, 285, 286, 442, 448; killing, **1**: 116, 123, 304; **2**: 455, 456; **3**: 147, 148, 149, 151, 281, 287, 437; shares, **3**: 286, 287; wild, **3**: 140.
Holdernesse, Lord, instructions, **1**: 43 n.
Holiday, given to hands, **3**: 89, 90.
Holland, **4**: 110.
Hollingsworth, ——, captain, **4**: 254 n.
Hollingsworth tavern, Head of Elk, Washington at, **3**: 215.
Hollis's Marsh bar, Virginia, Washington fishing off, **1**: 285, 286.
Holliston, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4**: 48.
Holmead, Anthony, **4**: 199 n.
Holmes, Isaac, lieutenant governor, South Carolina, **4**: 171 n.
Holmes, John B., **4**: 171 n.
Holmes, ——, **3**: 50.
Holly, **2**: 373.
Holly berries, **2**: 352, 357, 358, 360, 367.
Holly trees, **2**: 338, 347; **3**: 35.
Holston River, Kentucky, **2**: 282; **4**: 78, 79, 99, 100, 101.
Holt, Joseph, **4**: 285 n.
Holt, William, **3**: 64.
Home House. *See* Mansion House.
Honeysuckle (Woodbine), **2**: 355, 357, 373, 375; **3**: 10.
Hooe, Robert Townsend, **2**: 147 n, 345 n, 356, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 125, 147, 345, 371, 382; **3**: 141, 297, 423; Washington at, **3**: 140, 316; **4**: 6; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **3**: 316.
Hooks Falls, Potomac River, **2**: 405.
Hoops, Adam, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 102, 116.
Hoops, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 62, 62 n.
Hop enclosure, Mount Vernon, **2**: 360, 365.
Hope Park, Virginia, **4**: 276, 276 n; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **1**: 277.
Hopkins, John, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 270.
Hopkinson, Francis, **2**: 371, 371 n; **3**: 224 n; Washington visits, **3**: 224.
Horn's Hook, New York, **2**: 221.
Horne's Point, Chesapeake Bay, Washington aground on, **4**: 151.
Horry, Mrs. Daniel, **4**: 170 n; Washington at, **4**: 170.
Horse races, **1**: 283, 292, 324 n, 326. *See also* Alexandria, Annapolis, Williamsburg.
Horse Shoe Bottom, **2**: 304.
Horseneck, Connecticut, **2**: 233 n.
Horse Neck, New York, Washington at, **4**: 22.
Horsechestnut trees, **2**: 360, 373, 433; **3**: 320.
Horsepool Swamp, **1**: 191.
Horses, **1**: 135, 137, 142, 144, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 340, 395, 412, 435, 440, 443, 446, 451, 452; **2**: 255, 261, 281, 285, 286, 446, 449; **3**: 100, 101, 144, 147, 155, 272, 295, 402, 403, 425, 429, 430, 433, 436, 437, 438; **4**: 4, 161, 197; accident to, **4**: 156, 210; breeding, **3**: 448; chariot, **1**: 135, 136, 138; **3**: 286; colts, **3**: 284, 286, 425; hunting, **3**: 4; injured, foundered, sick, lame, etc., **1**: 129, 131, 324, 324 n, 404, 405; **2**: 16, 84; **3**: 51, 165, 322; **4**: 149, 150, 182, 183, 185, 234; listed, **2**: 435, 436, 437, 439, 443; **3**: 184, 244, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252; **3**: 283, lost, **1**: 340; **2**: 39, 145, 145 n; purchased, **1**: 388, 401, 401 n, 406; **2**: 19 n; sold to Ricketts, **4**: 249 n;

stud yard, **3**: 30; traded, **1**: 448 n; **2**: 18 n.
Hospital, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 118 n.
Hospital, Pennsylvania, **2**: 164; Washington at, **2**: 165.
Hotel, Washington City, **4**: 286.
Houdon, Jean Antoine, sculptor, **2**: 421; bust of Washington, **2**: 419, 419 n, 420; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 419, 426; Washington's interest in plaster of paris method, **2**: 421, 422.
Hough, John, near Shenandoah Falls, **2**: 10 n; **3**: 55, 56; Washington at, **2**: 10; **3**: 361.
Hough, ——, butcher, **3**: 77.
Hough, ——, **2**: 53.
Houghton, Elijah, **1**: 332, 334 n, 338.
Houghton, H. O., & Co., **1**: 43 n.
Hounds. *See* Dogs.
House, Mrs. Mary, Washington at, **4**: 216, 216 n, 228, 235.
House of Representatives, **4**: 70, 70 n, 128.
Houses, southern, Washington's comment on, **4**: 195; Washington's at Bath, **2**: 283, 284.
Houston, William, of Georgia, **3**: 220, 220 n.
Houston, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 256.
Houstoun, John, **4**: 175, 176 n.
Howard, Carlos, mission of, **4**: 132, 133.
Howard, John Eager, lieutenant colonel, **3**: 218 n; **4**: 151, 151 n, 152; marriage, **3**: 218.
Howard, Mrs. John Eager, **4**: 152, 152 n.
Howard, Mrs. ——, Maryland, Washington at, **2**: 169.
Howard's Creek, Virginia, **2**: 311.
Howe, Robert, major general, **2**: 241, 241 n.
Howell, Richard, governor, **4**: 211 n, 212, 217, 221.
Howells, Epaphras, **1**: 168 n, 169.
Hubbard, Benjamin, (Hubbard's Ordinary), **1**: 266 n, 385 n; Washington at, **1**: 266, 296, 323, 323 n, 356, 385; **2**: 15, 26, 39, 40, 60, 84, 87, 128, 132, 155, 158.
Hudson (North) River, New York, **2**: 219, 236, 237, 238, 240, 248, 250, 251, 272; allied armies cross, **2**: 256; Washington and Rochambeau cross, **2**: 237.
Huff & Suter, Georgetown, **4**: 237 n.
Huger, Daniel, **4**: 82, 111.
Hughes, Griffith, *Natural History of Barbadoes*, **1**: 27 n.
Hughes' Hotel, Salisbury, Washington at, **4**: 186.
Huie, James, captain, **4**: 261 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 261.
Hull, ——, **1**: 375.
Hull's tavern, New York, **2**: 112 n; Washington at, **2**: 112, 113.
Humelstown, Pennsylvania, Washington at, **4**: 211.
Humphreys, David, colonel, **3**: 97 n, 101, 102, 105, 107, 216, 216 n, 280, 293, 297, 309, 312, 319, 323, 325, 346, 362, 369, 379, 388; **3**: 401, 453; **4**: 7, 67, 67 n, 142 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 97, 99, 100, 106, 108, 269, 353, 354, 360, 384, 403; fox hunting with Washington, **3**: 273, 274, 276, 283, 287, 288; journey to Shenandoah falls with Washington, **3**: 360–361.
Hunter, James, clergyman, **1**: 121.
Hunter, James (Hunter's Ferry, Fredericksburg), **2**: 189 n; Washington at, **2**: 60 n, 151 n, 158 n, 160 n, 189.
Hunter, John, physician, **1**: 377 n.
Hunter, John, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 442.
Hunter, Moses, **3**: 60 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 60.
Hunter, William, **1**: 40.
Hunter, William, of Alexandria, **2**: 364 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 338, 364, 414, 418, 460; **3**: 98, 128, 163, 179, 187, 239, 270, 304, 309, 331, 352, 430; Washington visits, **3**: 388.
Hunter, Milly, **1**: 377 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 377.
Hunter, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 44.

Hunter, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 60.
Hunting, Washington on the Great Kanhawa, **1**: 450. *See also* Duck hunting, Gunning. *Also* Fox hunting.
Hunting breakfast, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 300.
Hunting Creek, Virginia, foxhunt, **3**: 276, 287; freshes, **3**: 101; land exchanged, **2**: 339; roads, **1**: 258; **3**: 446; **4**: 3.
Hunting Creek Warehouses (at Alexandria), **1**: 136.
Huntington, Jedidiah, brigadier general, **4**: 25, 25 n, 265 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 265.
Huntington, Jonathan, **4**: 87, 87 n, 113, 129.
Huntington, Samuel, governor, **4**: 24, 24 n, 25 n.
Huntington, ——, captain, **4**: 176 n.
Huntington, Long Island, Washington at, **4**: 119.
Hurlbut, George, captain, **2**: 236.
Husbands, Herman, **4**: 223, 223 n.
Hutchins, Thomas, **1**: 444, 444 n, 445, 446, 446 n; **2**: 320, 322; map of Ohio, **1**: 455 n.
Hutchinson, James, physician, Washington, at **3**: 235.
Hutchinson, Shrimpton, **4**: 37 n.
Hyatt, Caleb, tavern, **4**: 20 n; Washington at, **4**: 20, 51.

I

Ice, Adam, **2**: 304.
Ice, Andrew, **2**: 304 n; Washington at, **2**: 304.
Ice's Ferry, **2**: 284 n.
Ice house, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 428; **3**: 66; construction of, **2**: 431, 434, 438, 444, 445, 452, 454, 455; filling, **3**: 7, 8, 9, 295, 296, 297, 298; **4**: 4, 266.
Ice wells, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 334, 336, 381, 430.
Illinois, canoe going to, **1**: 429.
Illinois (Black Islands), **1**: 47, 47 n.
Impress, military, **2**: 207 n, 208, 212.
Inconstant, The, play of, **1**: 292, 292 n.
Independence Day, anniversary (1787), Washington attends an oration, **3**: 226; (1790), **4**: 135; callers on the President, **4**: 136; (1791), Washington at Lancaster, **4**: 204; (1798), Washington at Alexandria celebration, **4**: 279, 279 n; (1799), Washington at Alexandria celebration, **4**: 309, 310 n.
Indian Cross Creek, Ohio, **1**: 414 n.
Indian Queen Tavern, Philadelphia, **3**: 222 n; Washington at, **3**: 222, 226.
Indians, **1**: 91, 402 n, 439, 441, 445 n; **2**: 287; **4**: 15; affairs, **4**: 58, 66, 76; council at Fort Necessity, **1**: 94, 99, 100; council called by the French, **1**: 53; defeated by Wayne, **4**: 210; French actions toward, **1**: 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63; Georgia land trouble, **4**: 127 n, 192; injustice toward, **4**: 196; land titles, **2**: 95; oppose white settlements on Ohio, **1**: 441; raids, **1**: 65; **2**: 290; **4**: 60, 60 n, 93, 138; relations with Virginia, **1**: 423; remember speeches, **1**: 411 n; St. Clair's expedition, **4**: 140 n, 144 n, 155 n; services to Washington, **1**: 448, 448 n; speech to Washington, **1**: 411; spies sent by French, **1**: 101; treaty of Fort Harmar, **4**: 138 n; TRIBES: Adirondacks, **1**: 52; Canestogas, **1**: 51, 51 n, 52; Catawbas (Cuttaba), **1**: 78, 415; **4**: 184–85; Cherokees, **4**: 78, 79, 81, 99, 100, 291; Chickamaugas, **4**: 79, 89; Chickasaws, **1**: 78; **4**: 80, 81, 89, 122 n, 125, 125 n, 126, 133, 134; Choctaws, **4**: 81, 122, 133; Creeks, **4**: 52, 53, 54, 57, 57 n, 66 n, 68, 69, 69 n, 81, 95, 95 n, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103 n, 132, 133, 135 n; Delawares, **1**: 52, 52 n, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 418, 441, 442, 443; Loups, **1**: 90, 93, 94; Washington's speech to, **1**: 79; Onondagas,

1: 95, 99, 100; Ottawas (Ottoways), **1**: 65, 78; Senecas, **1**: 75, 75 n, 76, 93, 94, 441; Shawnese (Shawanoes, Shanoahs, etc.), **1**: 50 n, 51, 52, 79, 90, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 441; Six Nations, **1**: 46, 50 n, 52, 53, 76, 78, 90, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 414, 423; battle on the Ohio, **1**: 418; speech to Washington, **1**: 410 n; trade, **1**: 411, 423; tribal wars, **4**: 89, 90; uneasiness of, **2**: 290, 290 n, 291; war against English, **1**: 52; war dance, **1**: 7; with Washington on the Ohio trip, **1**: 412.

Industry, schooner, **1**: 26, 27.

Ingersoll, Jared, Washington at, **3**: 218.

Ingersoll, Jonathan, **4**: 25, 25 n.

Ingersoll, Mrs. Joseph, Boston, **4**: 35 n; Washington at, **4**: 35.

Ingles, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 389.

Ingraham, ——, **3**: 308; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 162, 298, 302, 304, 305, 307, 391.

Ingrams, James, South Carolina, Washington at, **4**: 184.

Innes, James, colonel, **1**: 81, 81 n, 449 n; Washington visits, **1**: 449.

Innes, Harry, **4**: 114, 114 n.

Insurgents, Western Pennsylvania, Washington meets committee of, **4**: 212, 213.

Intelligence, chain from Virginia, **2**: 251; secret, **2**: 212, 214, 214 n, 222.

Interpreter, Indian, engaged by Washington, **1**: 412, 412 n.

Intrenching tools, **2**: 258.

Invalids, Continental Army, **2**: 227, 227 n, 252.

Inznar, Count, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 281.

Ipswich, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4**: 41, 42.

Iredell, James, **4**: 85 n, 86; letter describing Washington's birthday celebration, **4**: 252 n.

Iron, sold Washington, **1**: 109, 109 n; **3**: 5.

Iron Works, Shenandoah, **1**: 138, 138 n, 160; **3**: 31.

Irvine, William, brigadier general, **4**: 113, 113 n, 136, 217.

Irwin's Island, Ohio River, **1**: 412 n.

Ivy, Mount Vernon, **2**: 343, 344, 373, 380.

Izard, Ralph, **4**: 19, 19 n, 55, 66 n, 82, 94, 128, 133, 170, 171 n; Washington visits, **4**: 55.

Izard, Mrs. Ralph, **4**: 133.

Izard, Walter, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 128.

J

Jackson, James, **4**: 72, 104, 105.

Jackson, Jonathan, Washington at, **2**: 65.

Jackson, Jonathan, **4**: 32 n, 33.

Jackson, William, major, **3**: 216, 216 n, 237 n; **4**: 19, 21, 21 n, 45, 45 n, 67, 67 n, 157, 288 n; accompanies Washington on Southern tour, **4**: 149; secretary Constitutional Convention, **3**: 219; Washington visits, **4**: 288.

Jackson, William, overseer, **1**: 184.

Jackson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 141.

Jackson's River, Virginia, **2**: 311, 313, 323.

Jacobs, John, Thompson, Connecticut, **4**: 49 n; Washington at, **4**: 49.

Jacques, Lancelot, **2**: 184 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 184.

Jamaica, Long Island, **2**: 222; **4**: 117, 120; Washington at, **4**: 116, 117.

James River, Virginia, **1**: 296; **2**: 209, 224, 225, 232, 245, 246, 271, 311, 315, 322, 323; crop damage on, **2**: 405; Washington at, **1**: 296; **3**: 50.

James River Navigation Company, **4**: 158 n; Washington inspects works, **3**: 50; **4**: 158; Washington's stock in, **2**: 376 n; **4**: 158 n.

Jameson, Robert, **4**: 181, 181 n.

Jamestown, Virginia, **2**: 260.

Jamestown Ford, Virginia, Wayne's victory at, **2**: 245, 245 n.
Jamieson, Neil, **3**: 50, 50 n.
Jasmine, **2**: 354, 355; **3**: 36.
Javings, John, **2**: 79.
Jay, John, **2**: 411; **3**: 321; **4**: 15, 17, 20, 53, 55, 56, 59, 67 n, 85, 107 n, 109, 122, 133; **4**: 143 n; consulted, **4**: 16; opinion requested, **4**: 90, 139, 142; theater tickets sent by Washington, **4**: 56; Washington visits, **4**: 55, 65.
Jay treaty, **4**: 262 n.
Jaylor (Jayler), ——, **3**: 338 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 239, 338.
Jefferson, Thomas, **1**: 385 n; **2**: 225 n, 419; **4**: 17, 106 n, 109, 113 n, 115, 117, 121 n, 122, 124 n, 130, 133, 137, 142 n; conference with, **4**: 106, 109, 115; to consult Hamilton and Knox in Washington's absence, **4**: 156; on diplomatic rank, **4**: 107, 109, 110; letter to and from, **4**: 155 n; opinion on Georgia Indian land sales, **4**: 126, 126 n, 127; opinion requested, **4**: 139, 142; received by Washington, **4**: 106; report on coinage, **4**: 114, 114 n; "Summary view" etc. (Bill of Rights), **2**: 159 n.
Jeffery, T., **1**: 40, 43 n.
Jeffrey's Rock, Hudson River, **2**: 237, 237 n.
Jeffries, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 303.
Jenifer, Mrs. Ann, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 242.
Jenifer, Daniel, of St. Thomas, Charles County, Maryland, **2**: 11 n, 186 n, 187 n, 352 n, 356; **3**: 221, 221 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 271, 271 n; **2**: 11, 42, 125, 186, 352, 354; Maryland commissioner on trade relations with Virginia, **2**: 353; sends fruit trees to Washington, **2**: 444; **3**: 25; Washington at, **2**: 35, 82, 125.
Jenifer, Mrs. Daniel, of St. Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 107, 177, 178, 240, 242, 273, 274, 318, 433, 401; **4**: 276.
Jenifer, Daniel, Jr., physician, **2**: 161 n, 186 n, 343 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 161, 343, 359.
Jenifer, Miss Marianne, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 242.
Jenifer, Walter Hanson, physician, **2**: 186 n, 187 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 187, 191, 343, 359, 364.
Jenifer, Mrs. Walter Hanson, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 420.
Jenifer, ——, physician (Daniel, Jr. or Walter H.), at Mount Vernon, **3**: 27, 185, 374, 417; **4**: 311; sends fruit trees to Washington, **2**: 434, 435, 436.
Jenifer, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 70.
Jenkes, Joseph, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 141, 318.
Jenkins, Samuel, **2**: 345.
Jenkins, William, **1**: 43, 86, 86 n.
Jenkins Hill, Washington City, **4**: 200 n.
Jenkins, ——, judge, **1**: 24.
Jenks, Isaac, tavern, Spencer, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4**: 31.
Jennings, Peter, **1**: 320 n.
Jenny, Israel, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 460.
Jenny, launch of the, **1**: 294.
Jerusalem artichokes, **3**: 192, 194, 259, 263, 333, 335, 342, 349, 357, 406, 415.
Jeskakake, Indian, speech to French, **1**: 53, 54.
Jesuits' bark, **3**: 110, 111, 116; **4**: 283 n.
Jocelin's tavern, Wilmington, North Carolina, dinner to Washington at, **4**: 168 n.
Jockey Club, Alexandria, Washington dines with, **3**: 124.
John Stanley House, Newbern, **4**: 165; Washington at, **4**: 165.
Johnson, George, death, **1**: 364.
Johnson, James, colonel, **2**: 395, 401.
Johnson, John, physician, **2**: 294 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 30, 30 n, 31, 41 n, 43; Washington visits, **2**: 294.
Johnson, Joshua, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 305.
Johnson, Matthew, tenant, **2**: 297, 298.
Johnson, Samuel, Washington attends funeral sermon, **1**: 328.
Johnson, Samuel, tenant, **1**: 167 n; **2**:

67, 67 n, 69, 88. *See also* Johnson's Ferry, *post.*
Johnson, Thomas, governor, **2:** 157 n, 307, 307 n, 353, 377, 377 n, 395, 401, 424; **3:** 25, 84, 85, 122, 297, 361; **4:** 152 n, 153, 153 n, 155 n, 199 n; District of Columbia commissioner, **4:** 152 n; land claim near Fort Frederick, **2:** 184; land holdings with Washington, **2:** 183 n; Maryland commissioner on trade relations with Virginia, **2:** 353; nominates Washington as Commander in chief, **2:** 157 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 157, 380; Washington visits, **2:** 397, 398.
Johnson, Sir William, **1:** 402 n.
Johnson, William Samuel, **4:** 23 n, 55, 55 n, 124; theater tickets sent by Washington, **4:** 56; visits Washington, **4:** 23.
Johnson, ——, **2:** 42.
Johnson's, fish house, **3:** 301.
Johnson's (Samuel) Ferry and fishing landing, Clifton's purchase, Mount Vernon, **2:** 69 n; **3:** 5, 28, 301; barbecue and boat race at, **2:** 150; Washington at, **2:** 148, 149, 150.
Johnson's Spring (Clifton's purchase), Washington at, **2:** 69, 412.
Johnston, George, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 146.
Johnston, George, **1:** 109 n, 119, 119 n, 127, 140, 163, 163 n.
Johnston, Rinaldo, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 336.
Johnston, Samuel, governor, **4:** 69, 69 n, 82, 85, 85 n, 94, 124, 140.
Johnston, William, **2:** 193, 193 n.
Johnston, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 149.
Johnston, ——, British marine officer, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386.
Johnston, ——, dines with Washington, **1:** 343.
Johnston, ——, sea captain, **1:** 262, 313.
Johnston's, ——, near Fredericksburg, **4:** 199; Washington at, **4:** 198.
Johnstones, Abram, Washington at, **1:** 8.
Joiner, **2:** 374.
Jolliff, William, **1:** 405 n, 406.
Joncaire, Chabert de, captain, **1:** 53, 53 n, 55, 56, 57, 63.
Jones, Allen, **3:** 275 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 275.
Jones, Andrew, **1:** 276 n.
Jones, David, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 419.
Jones, Edward, **2:** 60 n; agreement with Washington as overseer of Mrs. Mary Washington's plantation, **2:** 36; Washington at, **1:** 356.
Jones, Frances. *See* Dandridge, Mrs. John.
Jones, Gabriel, **1:** 130 n; **2:** 314 n; Washington visits, **2:** 314.
Jones, John, physician, **3:** 219, 219 n.
Jones, John Paul, squadron, **2:** 382 n.
Jones, Joseph, **3:** 120 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 120.
Jones, Noble Wymberley, physician, **4:** 175, 175 n, 176 n.
Jones, Thomas, of Charleston, **4:** 104 n.
Jones, ——, Philadelphia, experiment, **3:** 222, 223; Washington at, **3:** 222.
Jones, ——, lieutenant, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 281.
Jordan, ——, captain, Washington visits, **2:** 70.
Jordan's Mrs. ——, Virginia, **4:** 199; Washington at, **4:** 198.
Jost, John, **1:** 368, 368 n.
Joyne, Reuben, **1:** 135.
Juan Fernandez, Island, Governor of, letter to, **4:** 113.
Judiciary Act, **4:** 14; approved, **4:** 13, 13 n.
Judiciary, commissions, **4:** 13, 14.
Juhan, ——, **3:** 220.
Julian's, tavern, Fredericksburg, **1:** 356 n; Washington at, **1:** 356.
Jumel Mansion. *See* Morris, Roger, house.
Jumonville, ——, ensign, **1:** 80 n, 83 n, 85 n, 92; expedition, 75 n, 88; killed, **1:** 74 n, 87; survivor of skirmish, **1:** 91.
June, effect of a wet, **1:** 395.

K

Kanhawa River. *See* Little Kanhawa. *Also* Great Kanhawa.
Kaquehuston, Delaware chief, **1:** 100.
Kean, John, **4:** 55, 55 n, 113.
Kean, Thomas, captain, **4:** 171 n.
Keen, Newton, lieutenant, **4:** 311 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 311.
Keeptriest Furnance, Maryland, **2:** 398; Washington at, **2:** 399.
Keith, James, clergyman, **2:** 445 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 445; **3:** 141, 429.
Keith, James, of Alexandria, **3:** 140; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 106; **4:** 262, 263, 283, 311.
Keith, ——, Fauquier County, **2:** 66.
Kelty, William, physician, **3:** 400 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 400.
Kempff, John C., tavern, Independence celebration **4:** 309, 309 n; Washington at, **4:** 309.
Kemps, ——, Washington at, **2:** 316 n.
Kennedy, David, captain, **2:** 53, 53 n; land surveyed by Washington, **2:** 66; Washington at, **2:** 113.
Kenner's tavern, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 157.
Kentucky, **2:** 282, 290; **4:** 69, 74, 76, 77, 100, 101, 114; admitted to Union, **4:** 74 n; jealousy of N.W. Territory, **4:** 76, 77; settlements, **4:** 100; trade with New Orleans, **2:** 325; U.S. attitude toward, **4:** 75, 77.
Kentucky coffee tree, **2:** 360, 444.
Kentucky River, **1:** 445, 445 n.
Kerr (Duval's) Island, Ohio River, **1:** 421, 421 n.
Kershaw, ——, **4:** 176.
Ketcham, Zebulon, Amityville, **4:** 117 n, 118; Washington at, **4:** 117.
Key, John Ross, Tawnytown, Washington at, **4:** 202 n.
Key's Ferry, Shenandoah River, Virginia, **2:** 315, 318; Washington at, **2:** 280.
Kiashuta, Indian chief, **1:** 404, 404 n, 423, 430, 431, 450.
Killam (Killiams), Joseph, George's Creek, Washington at, **1:** 449, 452.
Kilty William, **4:** 152, 152 n.
Kimball, Peter, **1:** 342 n; **2:** 112 n; with Washington at Cacapehon, **1:** 342; Washington at, **2:** 112.
Kincade's Ferry, Cheat River, Washington at, **2:** 302 n.
King, Rufus, **4:** 55 n, 59, 94, 111, 115, 133; theater tickets from Washington, **4:** 55; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **4:** 56.
King, Mrs. Rufus, **4:** 58, 58 n, 115.
King, Samuel, **1:** 167 n.
King, William, **4:** 199 n.
King William County, Virginia, land sold to Washington in, **2:** 129, 129 n, 130, 130 n; Washington in, **1:** 383; Washington's plantation in **1:** 183, 269; Washington's tobacco crop in, **1:** 167 n; Washington visits his plantation in, **2:** 18, 159.
King William Court House, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 158, 298, 351, 379; **2:** 26, 104, 132, 159.
King and Queen County, Virginia, **2:** 173 n; land sold to Washington, **2:** 129, 129 n, 153; Washington at Custis's plantation in, **2:** 159.
Kingsbridge, New York, **2:** 212, 212 n, 231, 235, 239, 241; **4:** 51; allied armies at, **2:** 243; Washington at, **4:** 20.
King's Chapel, Boston, Washington attends an oratorio in, **4:** 36–37, 37 n; Washington's subscription to building, **4:** 37 n.
Kings Ferry, Hudson River, **2:** 215, 215 n, 255, 258; American and French armies cross, 215 n, 256.
Kingstown, New Hampshire, Washington at, **4:** 46.
Kinnar, ——, **2:** 66.
Kinsey, David, **1:** 276 n.
Kirchwall, William, tenant, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 457.
Kirk, James, of Maryland, **1:** 253, 253 n, 255, 261, 261 n, 262, 263.
Kirkpatrick, John, **1:** 109, 109 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 74; fishing with Washington, **2:** 74.

Kirkpatrick, Thomas, **2:** 335.
Kirwin, Peter, **3:** 66.
Kittery, Maine, Washington at, **4:** 44.
Kitts, Frederick, **4:** 254 n.
Knight of Malta, jackass, **3:** 321 n.
Knowland's Ferry, Potomac River, Washington at, **2:** 402, 403.
Knowledge, Society for promoting useful, Virginia, **2:** 154, 154 n.
Knowles, John, **3:** 63, 88.
Knox, Henry, major general, **2:** 220 n, 241, 249; **3:** 216, 216 n, 304; **4:** 20 n, 57, 59, 60, 60 n, 61, 67 n, 69, 78, 85, 88, 90, 96, 99, 103, 109, 114, 116, 121 n, 128, 133, 140; commissioner to treat with Creeks, **4:** 95 n; conference with Washington and De Grasse, **2:** 260; conference with, **4:** 15, 61, 90; to consult with Jefferson and Hamilton in Washington's absence, **4:** 156; estimate of artillery needs for operation against New York, **2:** 220; instructions to, **4:** 58, 58 n; letter, **4:** 90 n, 115 n; opinion requested, **4:** 139; report on Georgia land sales, **4:** 122, 124–25, 125 n; report on Indian affairs, **4:** 66, 66 n; report on militia, **4:** 72; theater tickets sent by Washington, **4:** 56; Washington visits, **4:** 55.
Koch, ——, of Holland, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 307.
Kosciuszko, Thaddeus, **4:** 278, 278 n.
Kuskuskas, Indian town, **1:** 46, 46 n, 50.
Kustaloga, Indian, **1:** 53, 54, 57.

L

Lacaze, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 126.
Lacolombe, Cadigan & Co., Philadelphia, **4:** 261 n.
Lacolombe, Lewis, **4:** 261 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 261.
Lacy's Ordinary (formerly West's), **1:** 12 n; **3:** 362 n; Washington at, **3:** 362.
Ladd, John G., **4:** 270 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 270.
Ladies, Washington's comment on, **4:** 173, 177, 179.
Lafayette, George Washington, **4:** 254 n, 261, 261 n.
Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de, **2:** 209 n, 445; **3:** 78, 396; action with Cornwallis, **2:** 234; commands in assault at Yorktown, **2:** 266; complains of Steuben, **2:** 232; French troops to join, **2:** 260; letters from, **2:** 209, 223, 223 n, 226, 226 n, 232, 234, 234 n, 246 n, 251, 251 n, 252, 252 n, 253, 253 n, 255, 255 n; letters to, **2:** 254, 254 n, 260 n, 407 n; **3:** 139 n, 221 n; ordered to prevent Cornwallis's retreating to Carolina, **2:** 254; orders to Wayne, **2:** 246; promised command of Wilmington expedition, **2:** 270; sends asses, partridges and pheasants to Washington, **3:** 136, 138; sends hounds to Washington, **2:** 407, 407 n; in Virginia, **2:** 209, 209 n, 223, 224, 225, 226, 246, 246 n, 253; Washington joins, **2:** 259, 260.
Lafayette, Marchioness, money sent by Washington to, **3:** 139 n.
La Force, ——, **1:** 80, 80 n, 86, 87; accompanies Washington, **1:** 57.
La Guin, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 279.
Laidler, ——, captain, **1:** 285, 285 n.
Laidler's (Laidlaw's) Maryland, Washington at, **2:** 25.
Lake, Richard, **1:** 362 n.
Lake Drummond, Dismal Swamp, **1:** 296 n; Washington at, **1:** 296.
Lake Erie, **1:** 46, 56 n, 99; **2:** 319, 321, 324; country, **2:** 325; French fort on, **1:** 49, 55.
Lake Huron, **2:** 319, 324.
Lake Michigan, **2:** 325.
Lake Ontario, **2:** 324; French on, **1:** 54, 56.

Lake of the Woods, **2**: 319, 319 n.
La Luzerne, Anne César, Chevalier de, **2**: 230 n, 234; **3**: 441 n; **4**: 130.
Lamb, John, colonel, **2**: 255, 255 n, 256, 257.
Lamberts, ——, Georgia, **4**: 178; Washington at, **4**: 178.
Lambkin, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 118.
Lamont, Aneas, letter to, **2**: 339 n.
La Moyeur or Le Moyeur. *See* Moyeur.
Lanahan, ——, physician, **1**: 25.
Lancaster, Pennsylvania, **4**: 201, 203; address to Washington, **4**: 204, 204 n; Washington at, **2**: 114; **4**: 203, 204.
Lands, **2**: 51, 52, 52 n, 53, 54; granted Virginia officers for French and Indian War service, **1**: 391 n, 400, 400 n, 405 n; **2**: 9, 9 n, 83 n, 84 n, 87, 87 n; purchased by Washington, **1**: 161, 185 n; **2**: 129, 129 n, 130 n; **2**: 65 n, 183; **3**: 50; marked by Washington for the Virginia officers, **1**: 428, 428 n; speculators offer Washington's for sale, **2**: 317; surveys platted by Washington, **2**: 37; Virginia titles confirmed, **2**: 301 n; WASHINGTON'S: **1**: 402; **2**: 317; claimed under Dinwiddie's proclamation, **2**: 39 n; exchange, **2**: 377; **4**: 286 n; in Fauquier County, **2**: 460; on Four Mile Run, **2**: 366; **4**: 301; on Great Kanhawa, **2**: 317; **4**: 264 n; leases, **1**: 318, 318 n; **4**: 264 n; in Maryland, **2**: 183 n; in Mohawk Valley, **2**: 356 n; in Pennsylvania, **3**: 142, 142 n, 143 n, 210; rental, **2**: 456; sales, **2**: 53, 287, 290; **3**: 49, 210 n; settlers for, **2**: 122, 146, 146 n; in Shenandoah Valley, **2**: 145; tenant terms, **2**: 286; on the Youghiogheny River, **1**: 408; **2**: 122 n; Washington's visit to his western, **2**: 291–99.
Landscape gardening, **2**: 351.
Lane, James, **1**: 127, 127 n.
Lane, James Hardige, **2**: 28, 28 n.
Lane, Joseph, Richmond County, Washington at, **2**: 19, 19 n.
Langbourn, ——, captain, **1**: 114.
Langdon, John, **4**: 42, 42 n, 43, 44, 66, 94, 115; house in Portsmouth, **4**: 45; Washington visits, **4**: 43, 44.
Langley, Robert, **1**: 276 n.
Lanphire, Going, tenant, and carpenter, **2**: 149 n.
Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, **3**: 229 n; Washington at, **3**: 229, 234.
Lansdowne portrait of Washington, **4**: 247 n.
La Peyronie, William, Chevalier, ensign, **1**: 80, 80 n, 86.
Lapsley, Thomas, tenant, **2**: 296, 298.
Large, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 114, 115.
La Rouerie, Charles Armand Tufin, Marquis de, **4**: 20, 20 n.
La Salle, Robert, Chevalier de la, **1**: 49 n, 55, 55 n.
Lattum, ——, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 308.
Launching, at Alexandria, **1**: 294; **2**: 63.
Laurel berries, **3**: 41.
Laurel Hill, New York City, **2**: 221, 221 n, 239, 244.
Laurel Hill (or Mountain), Pennsylvania, **1**: 85 n, 407 n; **2**: 281 n, 290, 292, 304, 305, 308; **3**: 84; feeling of people, west of, **2**: 320, 328; Washington crosses, **3**: 84.
Laurence, Henry, **4**: 171 n.
Laurens, John, lieutenant colonel, **2**: 219, 220, 269.
Laurie, James, physician, **1**: 108, 108 n, 121, 123, 126; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 108, 123, 124, 147, 151, 166.
Lauzun, Armand Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de, brigadier general, French Army, **2**: 224, 224 n, 231, 232, 233; **3**: 78, 78 n; legion, **2**: 233, 234, 242, 243, 257, 259, 264, 264 n; covers march of the French army, **2**: 229, 229 n.
Laval, Anne Alexandre Marie Sulpice de Montmorency, Marquis de, colonel, **2**: 242 n.
Law, Thomas, **4**: 274 n, 280 n, 286 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 262, 264, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 281, 285, 286, 287, 300, 303, 309, 310; **4**: 311, 312, 313;

4: 316; Washington visits, **4:** 255, 284, 290, 304, 306, 310, 317.
Law, Mrs. Thomas (Eliza Parke Custis), **2:** 284 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 278, 287.
Lawn, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 413, 418, 420, 421, 422, 423, 429, 431; **3:** 8, 109; circle in front of Mansion House, **2:** 433.
Lawrence, Charles, London tailor, clothes for Washington, **1:** 273 n.
Lawrence, John, colonel, **4:** 59, 59 n, 102.
Lawrence, John, of Philadelphia, **3:** 220 n; Washington at, **3:** 220.
Lawrence, Jonathan, Jr., captain, letter from, **2:** 215, 215 n.
Lawson, James, of Colchester, **1:** 301; **2:** 41; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 142; Washington at, **1:** 266, 389; **2:** 38.
Lawson, James, ditcher, **3:** 109, 139, 140, 147, 148, 156, 161, 165, 173, 174, 192; **3:** 202; agreement to ditch, **3:** 104.
Lawson, Thomas, **2:** 11 n.
Layton's Ferry, Rappahannock River, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 36, 36 n.
Lead plates, buried by the French in Ohio, **1:** 49 n.
Leading Creek, West Virginia, Washington near, **1:** 426.
Lear, Tobias, **2:** 147 n; **3:** 111, 115, 124, 125, 139, 167, 261, 272, 302, 441, 453; **4:** 7, 21, 21 n, 69, 142 n, 209 n, 239, 287; account of Washington's last illness and death, **4:** 320 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 150, 192, 419; **4:** 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264, 266, 269, 270 n, 271, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 305, 315, 316; arrives at Mount Vernon, **3:** 66; fox-hunting with Washington, **3:** 273, 274, 283, 287; precedes Washington to New York, **4:** 7; secretary, **3:** 66 n; **4:** 67, 67 n; sent on business by Washington to Alexandria, **3:** 160, 428; to Harper's Ferry, **4:** 316; to Pennsylvania, **3:** 142, 142 n, 143 n; surveys road to Cameron, **3:** 445; Washington visits, **4:** 239; Washington visits Lear's mother, **4:** 45.
Lear, Mrs. Tobias, **4:** 142.
Leases, land, Washington, **1:** 317.
Leather, **1:** 116.
Lebanon, Pennsylvania, **4:** 211, 218, 262, 262 n; Washington at, **4:** 211.
Lee, Arthur, physician, **1:** 276 n; **3:** 305 n; **4:** 111; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 276, 277; **2:** 355, 388, 407; **3:** 44, 45, 183, 201, 305, 447; letter, **2:** 220.
Lee, Charles, attorney-general, **2:** 340, 340 n; at Mount Vernon; **2:** 345, 385, 393, 452; **3:** 100, 108, 117, 214, 289, 293, 408, 409, 425; **4:** 260, 283, 286, 287, 309.
Lee, Charles, major-general, **2:** 175 n, 181 n, 192; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 175.
Lee, Miss Cornelia, **4:** 307 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 307.
Lee, Edmund, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 260, 299, 311.
Lee, Mrs. Edmund, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 260.
Lee, Elliot, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 116, 452, 453.
Lee, Miss Flora, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 430, 431; **3:** 108, 109.
Lee, Francis Lightfoot, **1:** 185 n, 276.
Lee, George, of Loudoun, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 386; **4:** 260, 272.
Lee, George, of Maryland, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 388.
Lee, Hancock, **2:** 143 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 143.
Lee, Hannah, **2:** 68 n; **3:** 419 n; **4:** 307 n.
Lee, Henry, colonel, **1:** 239, 292 n, 335; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 292; Washington visits, **1:** 295, 296, 350.
Lee, Henry, Jr. (Light Horse Harry), **2:** 60 n, 191 n, 227 n, 373; **3:** 342, 351, 447; **4:** 170 n, 180 n, 217, 221, 286, 303 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 191; **3:** 150, 164, 165, 191, 345, 440, 450, 452; **4:** 5, 258, 274, 303; declines command, **4:** 155; funeral oration on Washington, **2:** 192 n; instructions to, **4:** 222, 222 n; legion, **2:** 192 n; sends corn to Washington, **2:** 360; **4:**

4; trade with Washington of horse for land, **3:** 452, 453; Washington visits, **2:** 33, 87, 88; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **3:** 169.
Lee, Mrs. Henry, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 272.
Lee, Mrs. Jeremiah, Marblehead, **4:** 39 n; Washington at, **4:** 39.
Lee, Jesse, Washington at, **4:** 161.
Lee, Lawrence, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 106.
Lee, Lucy, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 100; **4:** 299.
Lee, Ludwell, **4:** 281; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 442; **3:** 360, 441, 452, 453; **4:** 259, 272, 279, 280, 281, 299, 307, 313; Washington visits, **4:** 259.
Lee, Martha, **2:** 358 n.
Lee, Matilda, **2:** 192 n.
Lee, Miss Nancy, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 388, 393, 405, 406; **3:** 108, 109, 128.
Lee, Philip Ludwell, **2:** 300; **3:** 272 n.
Lee, Philip Richard Francis, **2:** 170 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 170.
Lee, Portia, **4:** 280.
Lee, Richard (1st), **1:** 320.
Lee, Richard, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 335.
Lee, Mrs. Richard (Mary Bland), **1:** 335 n.
Lee, Richard, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 373.
Lee, Richard, of Maryland, **2:** 393.
Lee, Richard, **2:** 179, 358 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 148, 187; **3:** 191, 258.
Lee, Richard Bland, **3:** 26 n; **4:** 71, 105, 303 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 26, 407; **4:** 280, 303; Washington votes for, **4:** 6.
Lee, Richard Henry, **1:** 185 n, 189 n, 276 n; **2:** 159 n, 194 n, 393 n; **3:** 24, 25; **4:** 121 n, 122, 124, 140, 156 n, 307; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 194, 442; **3:** 128, 266; letter to, **2:** 381 n; sends holly trees to Washington, **3:** 35.
Lee, Theodore, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 127, 162, 407.
Lee, Thomas, **4:** 156 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 116.
Lee, Mrs. Thomas (Mildred Washington), **4:** 156 n; Washington visits, **4:** 156.
Lee, Thomas Ludwell, **1:** 185 n; **2:** 7, 7 n, 194 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 8, 194.
Lee, Thomas Sim, governor, **1:** 284 n; **2:** 124 n, 377, 377 n, 394, 394 n, 401, 424; **3:** 11, 84, 121, 361; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 284; **2:** 380.
Lee, William, Mr. Alderman, **1:** 185 n, 270, 276 n; **3:** 384; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 276; **4:** 273; opinion on approaching peace, **2:** 220.
Lee, William Ludwell, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 303.
Lee, ——, "Esquire," of Maryland, **3:** 113.
Lee, ——, **2:** 432; **3:** 159.
Lee, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 430, 431; **4:** 299.
Lee, Miss ——, of Greenspring, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 258, 278.
Lee, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 393; **3:** 164, 165, 260.
Lee's Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 423 n; Washington's camp near, **1:** 422 n.
Lee's Island, Potomac River, **2:** 403.
Leeds, Francis Osborne, Duke of, **4:** 15, 15 n; instructions to Temple, **4:** 15, 16; Morris's interview with, **4:** 132 n, 133.
Leeds Town, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 26.
Leesburg, Virginia, Alexandria road, **2:** 403; Washington at, **1:** 400, 400 n, 404; **2:** 10, 10 n, 65, 65 n, 144, 172, 279, 279 n; **3:** 361.
Lefevre, Isaac, doorkeeper of Congress, **2:** 169 n.
Legaux, Peter, vineyard, Washington at, **3:** 228.
Leicester, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 31.
Leigh's Tavern, Alexandria, Washington at, **3:** 263, 265.
Leitch, Andrew, of Dumfries, **2:** 189 n, 193 n; Washington at, **2:** 189, 193.
Lemart, Anne, money sent Washington, **3:** 4, 4 n.
Lemart, Lewis, **3:** 4; at Mount Vernon,

2: 188, 336; collects rents for Washington, **2**: 335, 335 n; Washington at, **2**: 145.
Lemons, ——, **2**: 306, 311.
Lemons, **1**: 162.
Lemos, Manuel Gayoso de, governor of Natchez, **4**: 75, 75 n.
Leonard, George, **4**: 87, 87 n, 111.
Leonard, ——, **4**: 129.
Leonardtown, Maryland, **3**: 70.
Leslie, Alexander, major general, **2**: 225, 226.
Letart Island, Ohio River, **1**: 425 n.
Letart Rapid, Ohio River, **1**: 425.
Letsum, ——, physician, **3**: 439.
Letterpress-copying machine, **3**: 76 n; installed at Mount Vernon, **3**: 76.
Letter seals, flying, **2**: 224, 224 n.
Levees, Washington's Presidential, **4**: 20, 20 n, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 66, 70, 71, 78, 84, 86, 90, 92, 104, 106, 110, 114, 122, 127, 130, 143; Representatives at, **4**: 60, 66, 95; Senators at, **4**: 56.
Lewis, Andrew, brigadier general, **1**: 102, 102 n; **2**: 351 n.
Lewis, Andrew, Jr., colonel, **2**: 351 n, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 351; **3**: 353.
Lewis, Charles, **2**: 39 n, 192 n.
Lewis, Fielding, colonel, **1**: 115 n, 160 n, 189 n, 191 n, 215, 215 n, 267, 270, 285, 296, 296 n, 316 n, 317; **2**: 17, 33, 34, 40, 364 n; **4**: 156 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 312, 369, 394, 396; **2**: 71, 72; accompanies Washington to Frederick County, **1**: 317; accompanies Washington to Williamsburg, **1**: 266; duck hunting with Washington, **1**: 312; Washington visits, **1**: 266, 315, 317, 351, 356, 371, 372, 378, 379, 385, 392; **2**: 15, 26, 27, 39, 39 n, 55, 60, 79, 84, 87, 128, 132, 151, 158, 159 n, 190; **3**: 51; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **1**: 391.
Lewis, Mrs. Fielding (Elizabeth "Betty" Washington), **1**: 115, 115 n, 215 n; **2**: 364, 364 n, 366, 375; **4**: 156 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 394, 396; **3**: 205, 206; **4**: 156, 199; illness, **3**: 205; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **3**: 366.
Lewis, Fielding, Jr., at Mount Vernon, **1**: 312, 315; **4**: 259, 271, 282.
Lewis, George, **2**: 39 n.
Lewis, George, major, **2**: 192 n; **4**: 220; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 356, 357, 359; **4**: 305.
Lewis, George Washington, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 275.
Lewis, Howell, **4**: 270 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 270, 318, 319.
Lewis, John, **1**: 341, 342.
Lewis, John, son of Fielding, **2**: 359, 382; **3**. 306; **4**: 157; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 71, 349, 366, 368, 372, 383; illness, **2**: 366, 384.
Lewis, Lawrence, **4**: 300, 303, 319; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 368, 372; **4**: 259, 265, 284, 314; marriage, **4**: 298 n, 299.
Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence (Eleanor "Nelly" Custis), daughter born, **4**: 318.
Lewis, Robert, **2**: 429; **4**: 67, 67 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 298, 306.
Lewis, Robert, colonel, **1**: 36.
Lewis, Thomas, **2**: 301, 313, 314, 315; Washington at, **2**: 314, 316.
Lewis, Warner, colonel, **1**: 324 n; Washington visits, **1**: 324, 325; **2**: 58.
Lewis, ——, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 276.
Lexington, Kentucky, **4**: 80; distances to various points, **4**: 101.
Lexington, Massachusetts, **4**: 36, 48; Washington at, **4**: 47.
Liberty Hall Academy, Virginia, stock from Washington, **2**: 376 n; **4**: 158 n.
Licking River, West Virginia, **1**: 445, 445 n.
Lighthouses, **4**: 81.
Light Infantry, American, **2**: 252, 255, 256, 257, 266; British, **2**: 251, 252.
Lightning, **1**: 163.
Ligonier County, Pennsylvania, Shades of Death, **2**: 288 n.
Lilacs, Mount Vernon, **2**: 344, 346, 355; **3**: 12.
Lime, **2**: 408; kiln, **1**: 154.

Lime trees, **2:** 373.
Lincoln, Benjamin, major general, **2:** 231, 231 n, 233, 241, 256, 387, 394; **4:** 53, 53 n, 54, 177; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 387, 451; mission to Massachusetts, **2:** 250; receives surrender of British at Yorktown, **2:** 231 n.
Linden trees, **2:** 343, 433.
Lindsay, ——, Indian trader, **1:** 420.
Lindsy, William, **1:** 5 n.
Linen manufacture, New Haven, **4:** 24–25.
Lingan, James M., **4:** 199 n.
Linn, William, physician, **4:** 59, 59 n.
Linn, William, clergyman, **4:** 276 n.
Liquors, tax on. *See* Excise.
Lisbon, U.S. consulship, **4:** 126.
Lister, Daniel, **4:** 264 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 264.
Liston, Robert, **4:** 289 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263, 315; Washington visits, **4:** 289.
Litchfield, Connecticut, **2:** 217 n; Washington at, **2:** 217, 219.
Lithgoe (Lithgow), Robert, **4:** 181, 181 n.
Little, Charles, colonel, **4:** 301, 301 n; Washington at, **4:** 303.
Little, ——, **3:** 14.
Little Beaver Creek, Pennsylvania, **1:** 403 n, 413, 413 n, 414, 444; Washington at, **1:** 403.
Little Falls of the Potomac, **3:** 25; bridge, **4:** 257; canal, **2:** 415, 416, 416 n; navigation, **2:** 417, 417 n; Washington at, **1:** 453; **4:** 257.
Little Hockhocking, Ohio, **1:** 422, 432, 444 n.
Little Hunting Creek, Mount Vernon, **1:** 125 n, 185, 186, 187, 201, 203, 214, 245 n; **2:** 69 n, 160 n; patent, **1:** 320 n. *See also* Hunting Creek.
Little Kanhawa River, West Virginia, **1:** 421, 422, 432, 441, 445; **2:** 281, 285, 287, 289, 292, 300, 302, 303, 312, 320, 322; described, **1:** 409.
Little Meadows, Pennsylvania, **1:** 407 n; Washington at, **1:** 401, 407.
Little Miami River, Ohio, **1:** 445, 445 n.
Little River, Dismal Swamp, **1:** 191, 193, 194.
Little River, Loudoun County, Virginia, land surveyed by Washington, **2:** 65.
Little River, Tennessee, **4:** 89.
Littledale, ——, sea captain, **1:** 133, 133 n, 163.
Littlefield, Catherine, **4:** 13 n.
Littlepage, Lewis, captain, **2:** 433 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 433, 434.
Littlestown, Pennsylvania, **4:** 202.
Littleton, Farrell, **1:** 145.
Livermore, Samuel, **4:** 67, 67 n, 105, 105 n.
Liveron, Michael Calb, **1:** 9.
Liverpool, goods from, **4:** 257 n.
Livingston, Edward, **2:** 80 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 380.
Livingston, Mrs. Henry Beekman, **3:** 224, 224 n; Washington visits, **3:** 227.
Livingston, Henry Brockholst, **4:** 136 n; oration praised by Washington, **4:** 136.
Livingston, Miss Maria, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 256.
Livingston, Peter Van Brugh, **2:** 422, 422 n.
Livingston, Philip, daughter married to Lord Stirling, **2:** 97 n.
Livingston, Robert R., **4:** 62, 62 n.
Livingston, William, governor, **4:** 57 n.
Livingston, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 422.
Lloyd, James, colonel, **1:** 341, 341 n, dines with Washington, **1:** 341.
Lloyd, John, **2:** 193 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 191, 193.
Lloyd, ——, colonel, Washington at, **2:** 82.
Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, **2:** 222, 222 n, 235, 235 n; **4:** 119, 119 n.
Lock and Key, The, play attended by Washington, **4:** 248.
Locust trees, **2:** 346, 347, 377; honey, **2:** 428; **3:** 30, 32, 34, 54, 203, 362.
Lodwick, William, **1:** 137, 138.
Logan, George, physician, **3:** 227 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 445; Washington at, **3:** 227.

Logston, Joseph, **2:** 303, 304, 309, 311, 315; guides Washington, **2:** 312.
Logston, Thomas, Washington at, **2:** 309, 311, 312.
Logs Town, Pennsylvania, 45 n, 46, 60, 90, 93, 404 n, 412, 414, 443 n, 444; burned, **1:** 101; Indian council at, **1:** 45; Indian treaty, **1:** 96, 96 n, 98, 98 n; Washington at, **1:** 45, 46, 412.
Lomax, ——, Alexandria innkeeper, charge for Washington's ball, **2:** 43; fish landing rented to, **3:** 28; Washington at, **3:** 126, 157, 353, 377, 391 n.
Lombardy poplar, **3:** 354.
Long, Mary, **4:** 239.
Long Bottom, Ohio River, **1:** 424 n.
Long Branch, Fairfax County, fox hunting on, **1:** 309.
Long House, Six Nations, **1:** 50; Washington's speech in, 50, 50 n.
Long Island, New York, **2:** 221, 222; Washington's comment on the country, **4:** 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121; Washington's tour on, **4:** 116–20.
Long (Brown's) Island, Ohio River, **1:** 414, 414 n.
Long Island Sound, harbors, **2:** 211.
Long Marsh, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 5, 5 n.
Long Reach, Ohio River, **1:** 402 n, 444; Washington at, **1:** 403.
Loosing Swamp, **1:** 191.
Loudoun County, Virginia, **2:** 408; lands, **1:** 410; tenants, **3:** 4; Washington's journey to, **2:** 65, 73 n; Washington's land in, **1:** 318.
Louis XVI, King of France, **2:** 210 n.
Louisiana, population, **4:** 89.
Louisville, Kentucky, **1:** 443 n.
Loup Indians. *See* Indians.
Lowe, John, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 421.
Lower Salem, Westchester, New York, **2:** 210 n.
Lower Shawnee Town, **1:** 443, 443 n, 445 n; distance to Vincennes, **1:** 444.
Lowry, John, **2:** 418, 418 n.
Lowry, William, **3:** 141 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 141.
Lowry, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 270, 388.
Loyal Foresters, The, **1:** 447 n.
Loyalists, of the Revolution, **2:** 243; Board of Associated, **2:** 112 n; claims commissioner, **3:** 144, 144 n.
Lucerne. *See* Grass.
Lucket's Ferry, Potomac River, **2:** 402, 403.
Luckett, David, **2:** 290, 291.
Ludwell, Lucy, **3:** 289 n.
Ludwell, Philip, colonel, **1:** 86, 86 n.
Ludwell, Philip, **3:** 289 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 282.
Ludwell, Thomas, **2:** 160 n.
Luke, ——, **4:** 301.
Lunenburg Parish, Virginia, **1:** 113 n.
Lux, George, **2:** 381 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 381, 382.
Lyle (Lyles), Henry or William, tavern, Alexandria, Washington at, **2:** 417.
Lyle, Mrs. ——, tavern, Alexandria, Washington at, **3:** 44.
Lyles (Lyle), ——, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 106, 239, 270, 446; Washington visits, **2:** 451.
Lyman, William, **4:** 29, 29 n.
Lynch, Dominick, **4:** 102 n.
Lynch, James, doorkeeper of Congress, **2:** 169 n.
Lynch, Thomas, **2:** 199 n; Washington visits, **2:** 199.
Lynch's Island, Santee River, Washington at, **4:** 170.
Lynn, Adam, **2:** 70, 70 n.
Lynn, David, major, Washington visits, **4:** 220.
Lynn, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 39, 40.
Lyon, James, physician, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 356.
Lyon, Peter, Washington at, **2:** 371.
Lyons, ——, **3:** 37.

M

McAlisters town. *See* Hanover.
Macauly-Graham, Catherine, **2:** 381 n, 382; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 381.
Macay, Spruce, **4:** 185, 185 n.
McBride, James, **2:** 294, 298.
McBride, Samuel, **2:** 294, 298.
McCabe, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 295.
McCammon, William, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 205.
McCarmack, John, **1:** 398 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 398.
McCarmick, James, **2:** 23.
McCarty, Miss Annie (Nancy), at Mount Vernon, **1:** 334; **2:** 22, 123, 173.
McCarty, Con., **2:** 32, 32 n.
McCarty, Daniel, captain, **1:** 162, 164, 238 n, 277 n, 299, 309 n, 321, 334 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 309, 322, 350, 364, 365, 374; **2:** 63, 64, 79, 83; daughters, **1:** 133 n, 309 n; **2:** 67 n; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 252, 302, 309, 310, 365; Washington visits, **1:** 132, 132 n, 277, 295, 299 n, 328; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **2:** 74.
McCarty, Daniel, Jr., at Mount Vernon, **2:** 83; **4:** 311, 315, 318.
McCarty, Dennis, colonel, **1:** 119, 378; **2:** 120, 364, 417, 452, 453; **3:** 111, 155, 415; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 89, 98, 188, 452; **3:** 130, 242; **4:** 261; daughter, **3:** 12; Washington visits, **3:** 12; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **2:** 141, 186, 342; **3:** 126.
McCarty, Mrs. Dennis, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 123, 187.
McCarty, John, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 37.
McCarty, Miss Molly at Mount Vernon, **2:** 67, 117.
McCarty, Thaddeus, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 89.
McCarty, Thomas, steward, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 417; **3:** 105.
McCarty, Miss Sinai, **1:** 277 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 277, 322.
McCarty, ——, of Pipe Creek, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 427.
McCarty, Miss ——, of Pope's Creek, marriage, **3:** 295.
McCarty's Island, Potomac River, **2:** 403.
McChisney, Samuel, **1:** 388 n.
McClanahan, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 278.
McClenachan, Blair, Washington visits, **3:** 233.
McClurg, James, **3:** 217, 217 n.
McClurg, John, **3:** 212 n.
McComb, Alexander, house rented by Washington, **4:** 83, 83 n, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91, 92.
McCord, John, **4:** 131, 131 n.
McCormick, George, major, **3:** 142 n.
McCracken, ——, Washington at, **2:** 286.
McCrady's tavern, Charleston, Washington at, **4:** 173 n.
Macrae, Allan, **1:** 110 n, 112 n, 454; **2:** 387; estate, **2:** 7; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 387; Washington at, **1:** 112.
McCrae, David, **1:** 388 n.
McCrae, Robert, **3:** 434.
McCrae, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 266.
McCulloch's Path, **2:** 284, 284 n, 285, 303, 304, 306, 308, 309; McCulloch's Crossing, **2:** 310, 311.
McDonald, Thomas, **4:** 262 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 262.
McDonald, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 192.
McDougall, Alexander, major general, **2:** 455, 455 n.
McFadden, George H., **2:** 114 n.
McGachin, William, captain, **1:** 167 n, 320 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 320, 321.
McGeechin, Duncan, **2:** 295, 298.
McGeechin, Brice, **2:** 295, 298.
McGillivray, Alexander, **4:** 54 n, 91, 82, 89, 90, 95, 95 n, 102, 132, 133, 135, 135 n; purposes, **4:** 54.
McGowan's Heights, New York City, **2:** 239, 239 n.

McGrath, ——, Washington at, **1:** 156 n.
McHenry, James, **3:** 215 n, 298, 446; **4:** 280 n, 281, 289 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 280; Washington at, **3:** 215; **4:** 289.
Machodoc Creek, Westmoreland County, **1:** 285 n; Washington at, **1:** 285.
McIntire, ——, **4:** 176 n.
McIntosh, Lachlan, **4:** 176, 176 n, 177.
Mackay (McKay), James, captain, **1:** 81, 81 n.
McKean, Thomas, **3:** 233 n; Washington at, **3:** 233.
McKee (Magee), Alexander, Indian Agent, **1:** 210 n, 412 n; Washington at, **1:** 412.
McKee, ——, captain, **1:** 162.
MacKee's Creek, Pennsylvania, **2:** 323.
MacKoneys Creek, Pennsylvania, **2:** 323.
McLaughlin, James, **1:** 61, 61 n.
Maclay, William, **4:** 70, 70 n, 94, 128, 140.
McLeane, ——, physician, **1:** 144.
Macon, Elizabeth, **1:** 296 n.
Macon, William, colonel, **1:** 296 n.
McPherson, Daniel, **3:** 4 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 4.
McPherson, D. & J., of Alexandria, **3:** 352 n.
McPherson, ——, **3:** 352 n, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 22, 352.
Macpherson, William, brigadier general, **4:** 217, 288, 288 n; The Macpherson Blues, **4:** 217 n, 288, 288 n.
McQuerr, ——, clergyman, **2:** 446 n; **3:** 60 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 60, 121, 201.
MacQuire (McGuire), John, **1:** 43.
McToksin, Jehoiakim, **4:** 109, 109 n.
Madeira Islands, flour, etc., shipped by Washington to, **2:** 127 n.
Madison, James, **2:** 154 n; **3:** 212 n, 218; **4:** 13, 13 n, 17, 74, 82, 102, 109, 140; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 410, 422, 423; **3:** 128, 129, 163, 313, 384, 456, 457; conference with, **4:** 122; opinion on Western Posts and commercial treaty, **4:** 17; resolution on Potomac commerce, **2:** 352 n; Virginia Commissioner on trade relations with Maryland, **2:** 352, 352 n.
Madrid, Spain, United States chargé at, **4:** 117 n.
Magee. *See* McKee, Alexander.
Magnolia, colts from, **3:** 286; traded for Kentucky land, **3:** 452, 453.
Magnolia, swamp, **3:** 34; trees, **2:** 338, 347, 355, 378, 444; **3:** 37, 39, 54.
Magowan, Walter, clergyman, **1:** 252, 303, 326, 368; **2:** 14, 50; at Alexandria church, **2:** 123; at Herring Bay, Maryland, **2:** 67 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 252, 254, 299, 307, 318, 319, 320, 328, 335, 336, 349, 350, 367, 373, 393; **2:** 13, 14, 21, 22, 41, 42, 49, 50, 51, 67, 68, 91, 97, 98, 123, 124, 148, 151, 190, 191, 379, 445; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 304, 349; **2:** 97; tutors the Custis children, **1:** 252.
Mahogany tree, seeds, **2:** 377.
Mahony, ——, **3:** 358.
Major, ——, colonel, **4:** 221.
Malden, Massachusetts, bridge, **4:** 39; Washington at, **4:** 39, 40.
Malta, Island of, asses to Washington, **3:** 138, 139 n.
Mamaroneck, New York, Washington at, **4:** 21.
Manchester, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 160.
Mange, **1:** 293, 339.
Mangel Wurzel. *See* Scarcity Root.
Mangel. *See* Clothes mangle.
Manigault, Gabriel, **4:** 170 n; Washington at, **4:** 170.
Manley, Harrison, **1:** 283 n, **3:** 31; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 299, 370; **2:** 38, 46, 91, 103, 106; daughter, **2:** 50; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 308, 364; **2:** 4, 44, 51, 103; houses on land, **3:** 135, 161, 170, 178, 185, 187, 205, 367, 375, 417, 432, 436; land, **2:** 54; **3:** 119, 126; land purchased by Washington, **3:** 111, 114, 130, 142; land surveyed by Washington, **3:** 142, 143.
Manley, Mrs. Harrison, **2:** 421.

Manley, John, **1:** 254; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 252, 252 n, 264, 294.
Manley, Miss Molly, **1:** 283 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 283; **2:** 5, 79, 117.
Manley, Penelope, **1:** 107 n.
Manley, ——, **2:** 31.
Manley, Mrs. ——, **1:** 310.
Manley, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 30.
Mann, William, colonel, **4:** 151, 151 n; Washington at, **4:** 151, 152.
Mansfield, Connecticut, silk weaving, **4:** 26; Washington at, **4:** 50.
Mansfield (Mann Page's) Washington visits, **3:** 366.
Maple trees, **2:** 338, 345, 346, 433; **3:** 33.
Marblehead, Massachusetts, **4:** 39 n; address to Washington, **4:** 40, 40 n, 44; Washington at, and comment on, **4:** 39, 40.
Marbury, Miss Nellie, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 453.
Marchant, Henry, **4:** 263 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263, 281.
Marietta, Ohio, **1:** 420 n.
Marin, Pierre Paul, Sieur de, **1:** 44 n.
Marion, Francis, brigadier general, **2:** 227 n.
Markam, Gervase or Jervis, **1:** 129, 129 n.
Marl, **1:** 141 n, 153, 164, 165; **2:** 148; experiment, **1:** 200, **3:** 10.
Marlborough, Maryland, **2:** 346; Washington at, **2:** 126, 194.
Marlborough, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 32.
Marmion, Stafford County, **2:** 80 n.
Marquee, Washington's, **1:** 391 n; **2:** 299, 299 n.
Marriage, Washington on, **2:** 423 n.
Marriner (Mariner), William, Harlem tavern, **4:** 142; Washington at, **4:** 19, 19 n.
Marshall, Humphrey, **3:** 97, 97 n, 318, 320, 333.
Marshall, John, **4:** 171 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 283, 283 n, 284.
Marshall, Thomas, captain, **1:** 107 n, 316 n, 348 n, 389; **2:** 77; **3:** 207; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 316, 349; **2:** 186; daughter at Mount Vernon, **2:** 182; land, **1:** 348 n, 349.
Marshall, Thomas Hanson, **1:** 140 n.
Marshall, William, physician, **2:** 408 n; **4:** 171 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 408, 413.
Marshall, ——, music master, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 269, 270.
Marshall Hall, Maryland, **1:** 107 n, 348 n.
Martel, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 407.
Martin, Alexander, governor, **4:** 82, 187, 187 n, 191.
Martin, Azel, **1:** 333.
Martin, Denny (Fairfax), **1:** 130, 130 n; **3:** 183 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 183.
Martin, D. C., **2:** 114 n.
Martin, Joseph, brigadier general, **4:** 88, 88 n, 89.
Martin, Thomas Bryan, **1:** 129 n, 130, 131, 163 n; **3:** 183 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 130; will contested, **1:** 130 n.
Martin, ——, Indian trader, **1:** 420.
Martin, —— widow, Washington at her landing, **2:** 20.
Martinborough, North Carolina, **4:** 164 n.
Martinique, West Indies, British naval victory off, **2:** 252 n, 260 n.
Martinsburg, West Virginia, **2:** 281.
Marvin, ——, major, Washington at, **4:** 51.
Maryland, agrees to navigation of the Potomac, **2:** 365; chancellor and chief justice, **1:** 345, 345 n; commissioners on trade relations with Virginia, **2:** 352, 352 n; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 217, 221; Eastern Shore begged to supply boats for army, **2:** 259; state road to western boundary, **2:** 311; troops, **1:** 81 n; **2:** 261; **4:** 209, 220; Washington's comment on country passed through, **4:** 201, 202.
Maryland, Medical and Chirurgical faculty, founder, **2:** 408 n.
Mason, George, **1:** 137 n, 140, 142 n, 145, 145 n, 146, 147, 163 n, 199, 200,

210, 258, 301, 373; **2:** 7, 12, 64 n, 109 n, 127 n, 179, 192, 338, 352 n; **2:** 353, 354, 423, 454; **3:** 132, 167, 174, 212 n, 217, 265, 288, 383, 446; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 300, 321, 322, 329, 350, 368; **2:** 53, 121, 125, 133, 149, 157, 162, 182, 192, 196; **3:** 440; cousin of, **1:** 337 n; Virginia commissioner to settle trade relations with Maryland, **2:** 352; deer drives, **2:** 43; Fairfax County resolves, **2:** 156, 157 n; elected to Virginia legislature, **3:** 45, 196; fee from Washington, **1:** 350 n; land, **1:** 321; **2:** 455; **3:** 185, 202; Washington visits, **2:** 109, 349.

Mason, Mrs. George (Sarah Brent), **1:** 145 n; memorial, **2:** 109.

Mason, George, Jr., at Mount Vernon, **1:** 350; **2:** 170, 354; **3:** 196, 261, 262; lends hounds Washington, **2:** 451.

Mason, John, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 363 n, 374.

Mason, Mary, **3:** 196 n.

Mason, Mary, furnishes cakes for Washington's election, **1:** 301 n.

Mason, Thomson, **1:** 137, 137 n, 273; **2:** 7, 60 n; **3:** 9; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 143; **4:** 263, 299, 304; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **4:** 273.

Mason, William, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 196.

Mason, —— , of Colchester, Washington visits, **2:** 450.

Mason, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 43, 44.

Masonic order, apron presented to Washington, **2:** 337 n; Washington acts as a mason, **2:** 342.

Mass's Ordinary, near Leesburg, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 400 n.

Massachusetts, **2:** 152 n, 153 n, 208, 229; **4:** 33, 34, 35; address of Governor and Council to Washington, **4:** 37, 37 n; commissioners to furnish beef, **2:** 234 n; communication on the Eastern boundary dispute, **4:** 91, 91 n; delegates to Continental Congress with Washington, **2:** 197; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 219; Governor and Council's dinner to Washington, **4:** 37; letters to, **2:** 218 n, 224, 250, 250 n; roads, **4:** 47, 48; troops, **2:** 208, 229, 240, 247, 250, 253.

Massey, Lee, clergyman, **1:** 377 n, 387; **2:** 80; **3:** 222; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 377; **2:** 116; **3:** 204; buries Patsy Custis, **2:** 116.

Massey, Mrs. Lee (Elizabeth Bronaugh) **1:** 377 n.

Massey, Margaret (Peggy), **1:** 387; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 387, 388.

Masters, Mary, **2:** 111 n.

Match coat, 64, 64 n, 66.

Mathers, James, **4:** 109, 109 n.

Mathews, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 420.

Mathis, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 110.

Matildaville, Virginia, **1:** 131 n.

Matson Ford, Pennsylvania, **3:** 228 n.

Mattawoman, **3:** 189, 200.

Matthews (Mathews), George, brigadier general, **4:** 71, 104 n, 105, 220.

Matthews, ——, of Eastern Shore, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 113.

Mauduit Duplessis, Thomas Antoine, chevalier, **3:** 106 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 106.

Maynard, Satus, judge, **1:** 24, 24 n.

Maynard, William, judge, **1:** 24, 24 n.

Mayo, John, of Virginia, **3:** 130 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 130, 131.

Mazzei, Philip, **2:** 376 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 376.

Mead, ——, **1:** 189 n.

Meade, George, **3:** 139 n.

Meade, Richard Kidder, **3:** 54; **4:** 280; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 67, 68.

Meal, ground, 3, 181.

Mease, James, **2:** 112 n; Washington visits, **2:** 112, 166, 168, 197.

Mease, Ralph, Washington dines with, **1:** 343.

Mease (Maze), Robert, **1:** 340 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 340, 342.

Mease, Robert, **3:** 13 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 13, 14.

Mease, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 161.

Measles, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 107, 108, 111, 123.
Meat, for troops, **2:** 211.
Mecklenburg Court, **4:** 185.
Medal, U.S. to foreign diplomats, **4:** 124, 124 n, 130.
Meherrin River, **4:** 161, 161 n, 162.
Meldrum, ——, dines with Washington, **1:** 343.
Mellwood, Maryland, **2:** 395, 401.
Memoire contenant le précis des faits, **1:** xvii, 72.
Menden, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 48.
Meng, Wallory, **2:** 198 n.
Menonville, François Louis Arthur Thibaut, Comte de, lieutenant colonel, **2:** 210, 210 n.
Mentges, Francis, lieutenant colonel, **3:** 216, 216 n.
Mercer, Charles Fenton, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 311.
Mercer, George, **1:** 86, 86 n, 90, 131 n, 132, 132 n, 163 n, 392 n; **3:** 50; affairs, **3:** 439; lands, **2:** 366; **3:** 49; Washington visits, **2:** 372.
Mercer, Hugh, **1:** 310 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 310, 311.
Mercer, James, colonel, land, **2:** 144, 145, 171; meets Washington, **2:** 144; Washington executor of estate, **2:** 171 n; Washington visits, **1:** 392.
Mercer, James, **3:** 55, 324; land, **2:** 366; **3:** 50.
Mercer, John, colonel, **1:** 392 n; **2:** 172 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 382; estate, **2:** 171, 171 n, 172; land, **2:** 183; Washington visits, **2:** 206.
Mercer, John, **1:** 102; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 125.
Mercer, John Francis, **2:** 7, 40; **3:** 294, 294 n, 305; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 315.
Mercer, ——, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 347.
Mercer, ——, **2:** 169.
Merchants, New England, inquiry made to, **2:** 249, 249 n.
Meredith, Samuel, **2:** 112 n; **3:** 224 n; **4:** 52, 52 n, 57, 57 n, 72, 164 n, 289 n; Washington visits, **2:** 112, 166, 197, 198; **3:** 224, 225, 227, 228, 236; **4:** 289, 311.
Meredith, Mrs. Samuel, **3:** 220 n; Washington at, **3:** 220.
Merrimac River, Washington crosses, **4:** 47.
Meyhehan, Friar John, efforts in behalf of Algerine captives, **4:** 106, 107.
Miami River, **2:** 318, 319; **4:** 210.
Michael, John H., **4:** 114 n.
Michaux, André, **3:** 78, 78 n, 82, 83.
Middle Island, Ohio River, **1:** 420 n.
Middle Island (Bull's) Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 420 n, 421.
Middlesex, Massachusetts, **4:** 32, 32 n, 33, 42.
Middleton, Arthur, **2:** 427 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 427.
Middleton, Mrs. Arthur, **3:** 134 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 134.
Middleton, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 36.
Middletown, Connecticut, **4:** 28, 51; Washington at, **4:** 26, 27.
Miers. *See* Myers.
Mifflin, Thomas, **2:** 164 n; **3:** 107, 216, 216 n, 221; **4:** 211 n, 212, 217, 221, 289 n; Washington visits, **2:** 164, 168, 195; **3:** 218, 221, 228; **4:** 289.
Mifflin, Warner, visits Washington, **4:** 103.
Mile Square, New York City, **2:** 242.
Miles, John, captain-lieutenant, **2:** 236, 236 n.
Miles, Samuel, colonel, **3:** 216, 216 n.
Milford, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 23, 24, 51.
Milford, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 48.
Military records, Washington's, **2:** 381, 381 n.
Militia, **2:** 224, 224 n; actions on Harmar expedition, **4:** 140; musters, Washington attends, **1:** 372; **2:** 106; ordered out in Whiskey Rebellion, **4:** 209, 209 n; President's authority over, **4:** 32 n; system for U.S., **4:** 59, 60, 60 n, 72.
Mill, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 137, 139, 246, 252, 254, 370, 390, 396, 455; **2:**

12, 16, 335; **3:** 6, 105, 125, 410, 420, 444, 451; building, repairs, etc., **1:** 141 n, 142, 202, 203, 251, 367, 369, 370, 372, 373, 375, 376, 377, 380, 381, 382, 391, 398; **2:** 27, 28, 32, 32 n, 35, 458; **3:** 109, 165; building agreement, **1:** 357, 357 n; cogwheel, **3:** 159; dam, **1:** 271; **2:** 11, 12, 13; tumbling dam, **3:** 446; **4:** 3; damaged, **1:** 139, 150; **2:** 5; **3:** 329; at Dogue Run, **1:** 364, 366, 367, 369, 370; French minister at, **3:** 441; grinding for country custom, **2:** 12; mill hands, **3:** 17; race, **1:** 380, 381, 399, 454, 455; **2:** 4, 6, 11, 12, 76, 78, 80, 81, 85; **3:** 67, 103, 337, 338, 339, 344, 393, 394, 395; stones, **1:** 399, 399 n; toll, **3:** 181; Washington at, **1:** 136, 139, 150, 357, 374, 376, 377, 378, 381, 385, 396, 398, 399, 453, 454, 455; **2:** 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 72, 74, 99, 100, 102, 105, 106, 108, 121, 122, 123, 127, 133, 138, 143, 148, 155, 160, 169, 173, 334, 377, 382, 384, 456, 457; **3:** 5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 27, 33, 35, 73, 75, 88, 89, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117, 141, 164, 165, 167, 168, 178, 329, 330, 364, 369, 370, 441; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 121, 191, **3:** 420.

Mill, Washington's, in Pennsylvania, **1:** 408 n; **2:** 291, 291 n.

Mill Plantation, **1:** 209, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 223, 225, 226, 228, 230, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 265, 267, 279, 280, 286, 288, 289, 297, 301, 323, 327, 331, 332, 338, 346, 347, 390; **2:** 16, 16 n, 23, 24, 28, 31, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 85, 429, 430; **3:** 136, 139, 144, 151, 281, 298, 415; miller's house, **2:** 31, 32, 36; overseer's house, **1:** 279; swamp, **2:** 334, 341; **3:** 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 121, 123, 125; Washington at, **1:** 245, 246, 251, 252, 253, 257, 258, 264, 265, 266, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277, 290, 292, 295, 299, 302, 303, 307, 312, 313, 314, 320, 321, 326, 328, 329, 334, 336, 344, 346, 348, 349, 350, 362, 363, 368, 369, 371, 372, 373, 378, 387, 392, 393, 397; **2:** 20, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 83, 84, 89, 99, 100, 102, 105, 110, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 127, 133, 138, 155, 156; **3:** 3, 136, 144, 163; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **1:** 388; **2:** 117, 121.

Mill seats, lack of, on Ohio River, **1:** 416.

Miller, Henry, brigadier general, **4:** 222 n.

Miller, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 455; **2:** 106, 124.

Miller, at Mount Vernon, house for, **2:** 31, 32, 36; share of pork, **3:** 281.

Miller's Run, Pennsylvania, Washington's lands on, **2:** 291, 292, 292 n, 293, 294; **3:** 142 n.

Millet, **3:** 58.

Milligan, Jacob, **4:** 171 n.

Milligan, James, **3:** 228 n; Washington at, **3:** 228.

Millions for defense, etc., **4:** 171 n.

Mills, ——, of Fairfax, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 184.

Mills, Nomony, Washington at, **2:** 19.

Mills, Virginia, keeping open waterways for fish, **1:** 325 n.

Milne, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 387.

Milnor, William, of Philadelphia, **2:** 148, 148 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 150, 184, 185.

Milum, John, **3:** 7 n.

Mingo Town, Ohio, **1:** 402 n, 416, 435, 440, 440 n, 444, 447; Washington at, **1:** 402, 414, 415, 451.

Mingoes. *See* Indians, Canestogas, *also* Senecas.

Minnesink, **1:** 97, 97 n; **2:** 210.

Minor, Daniel, **2:** 53.

Minor, John, **1:** 283 n.

Minorca barley, **3:** 344, 347, 348, 371.

Miro, Estevan, **4:** 78 n, 88 n; inducements to Americans, **4:** 88.

Miro settlement (North Carolina, now Tennessee), **4:** 80, 100; report on, **4:** 78; wishes protection of Congress, **4:** 81.

Mississippi Company, **1:** 185 n, 270 n, 275.
Mississippi River, British designs, **4:** 136; French on, **1:** 46, 47; importance to western settlers, **2:** 226; navigation of, **4:** 75, 88, 89, 107 n, 108; trade down, **2:** 326, 327.
Mitchell, Hugh, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 455.
Mitchell, John, colonel, **4:** 171 n.
Mitchell, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 61.
Mitchell, ——, oration on Independence Day, **3:** 226.
Mitchell's, ——, Maryland, Washington at, **4:** 237 n.
Mixen, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 187.
Mobile River, **4:** 80, 87, 100.
Mobs, T——, **1:** 166 n.
Mock Orange, **2:** 344.
Mohawk River, New York, **2:** 219.
Mohawk Valley, New York, Washington's land in, **2:** 356 n.
Molasses, **3:** 117.
Monakatoocha (Scarrooyady), Oneida chief, **1:** 52, 90, 90 n, 101; Washington visits, **1:** 45, 46.
Moncock Hill, Washington's plantation; **1:** 172.
Money, Congress committee on raising, **2:** 196 n, 198 n; lent by Washington, **3:** 61; protection against counterfeit, **4:** 74; used by Washington to transport supplies, **2:** 208.
Monmouth Heights, New Jersey, **2:** 241.
Monocasy, Maryland, **2:** 398; **4:** 201, 202.
Monocasy tavern, Maryland, Washington at, **2:** 397, 397 n.
Monongahela County, **1:** 421; **2:** 301, 311; Indian raids in, **4:** 60 n.
Monongahela Court House, **2:** 300, 303, 305, 310.
Monongahela River, **1:** 284, 285, 287, 292, 300, 303, 304, 320, 328, 442; color, **2:** 302; communication with Potomac, **2:** 281; controlled by Pennsylvania, **2:** 290; Washington at, **2:** 293, 298.
Monroe, Elizabeth, **3:** 120 n.
Monroe, James, **3:** 120 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 128, 129.
Monshur (Manshure, Munsure, Moshier), ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 446, 458; **3:** 197, 270, 345, 353, 367, 382; fox hunting with Washington, **3:** 283.
Montague, Mary, **1:** 115 n.
Montgomerie, Thomas, of Dumfries, **1:** 345 n; **2:** 46, 51, 384 n, 387, 387 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 345, 346, 387; **2:** 5, 12, 49, 384; fox hunting with Washington, **2:** 49.
Montgomery, John, clergyman, **2:** 101 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 101.
Montgomery County, Maryland, **4:** 201 n; Washington in, **4:** 201.
Montmorin, ——, **4:** 113.
Montour, Andrew, captain, **1:** 91, 91 n, 92, 100, 101.
Montreal, Canada, **1:** 55 n; **2:** 320, 324; Indian council at, **1:** 48.
Moody, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 63.
Moon, **1:** 134, 235, 261; **4:** 275, 277; effect on fertilizer, **3:** 223.
Moor, Philip, **1:** 10.
Moore, Andrew, **4:** 87, 87 n.
Moore, Bernard, colonel, **2:** 18 n, 129 n; Washington at, **2:** 18, 129.
Moore, Cato, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 134.
Moore, Mrs. Jane, Valley Forge, **3:** 230 n; Washington at, **3:** 230, 231.
Moore, Thomas, rents house from Washington, **1:** 157, 157 n.
Moore, Thomas, colonel, **1:** 355 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 256, 355, 383.
Moore, Thomas Lloyd, of Philadelphia, **3:** 223 n; Washington at, **3:** 223.
Moore, William, president, **2:** 225 n.
Moore, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 308.
Moore, ——, **4:** 113, 129.
Moore, ——, Yorktown, Virginia, surrender negotiations in house of, **2:** 268.

Moore's Mill, Yorktown, Virginia, **2:** 263.
Moore's tavern, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 198.
Moorefield, John, captain, **2:** 183 n.
Moorefield, Virginia, **2:** 284 n.
Moran, Charles, Jr., **1:** xix, xx.
Moravian settlement, **4:** 186, 187; address to Washington, **4:** 186, 186 n; Washington at, **4:** 12.
Moreton, Andrew, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 173.
Morgan, Charles, with Washington, **1:** 412.
Morgan, Daniel, brigadier general, **2:** 280 n, 310, 402, 402 n; **4:** 217, 220; conversation with Washington, **2:** 280.
Morgan, John, physician, **2:** 167 n; Washington visits, **2:** 167.
Morgan, Zackwell, colonel, **2:** 303, 303 n.
Morgan, ——, Fauquier County, Washington at, **1:** 316 n.
Morgan's Tavern, New York, Washington at, **2:** 217.
Morgantown, Virginia, **2:** 303, 305.
Morocco, negotiations with, **4:** 56, 56 n.
Morris, Gouverneur, **2:** 371, 371 n, 387 n; **3:** 230, 237; **4:** 16; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 387, 388; **3:** 269, 270, 387; barn, **4:** 19; mission to Great Britain, **4:** 20, 137, 138; qualifications, **4:** 17; reports on mission to Britain, **4:** 131, 131 n, 132; visits Valley Forge with Washington, **3:** 230; visits Trenton with Washington, **3:** 231.
Morris, Israel, overseer, **1:** 108.
Morris, Jacob, **3:** 134 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 134.
Morris, John, overseer at Dogue Run, **1:** 238, 282, 399; **2:** 23, 391, 428, 430, 456; **3:** 53, 54, 59, 61, 81, 87, 104, 118, 136, 263, 264, 267; share of pork, **3:** 151; Washington at, **1:** 397; **2:** 173 n, 377; **3:** 8.
Morris, Lewis, Signer, **4:** 19 n; Washington visits, **4:** 19.
Morris, Lewis, colonel, **3:** 134; **4:** 13; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 134; **4:** 277.
Morris, Mrs. Lewis, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 134.
Morris, Miss Maria, **3:** 352 n, 387 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 352, 387.
Morris, Mary, **2:** 164 n.
Morris, Richard, **4:** 61, 61 n.
Morris, Robert, superintendent of finance, **2:** 112, 198 n, 249, 249 n; **3:** 98, 107, 107 n, 354, 386; **4:** 82, 94, 124, 264; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 269, 270, 387, 388; conference with Washington, **2:** 253; financial weakening, **3:** 225, 225 n; letter, **2:** 336; in prison, **4:** 289 n; visits Valley Forge and Trenton with Washington, **3:** 231; Washington visits, **2:** 112, 198; **3:** 216, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237; **4:** 289.
Morris, Mrs. Robert, **3:** 220, 227, 352 n, 355; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 355, 387, 388.
Morris, Robert, Jr., **3:** 352 n, 387 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 352, 353, 387.
Morris, Roger, house, New York, **2:** 238 n, 239, 239 n, 244; **4:** 142 n; Washington at, **4:** 142.
Morris, Thomas, **3:** 352 n, 387 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 352, 353, 387.
Morris, ——, Charleston, **4:** 171 n.
Morris's Heights, New York, **2:** 238, 238 n.
Morris' tavern, Harper's Ferry, Washington at, **2:** 398.
Morrisannia, New York City, **2:** 242, 242 n, 243.
Morrison, ——, **4:** 176 n.
Morristown, New Jersey, **2:** 257.
Morse, Jedidiah, clergyman, **3:** 141 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 141.
Morse's tavern, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 257 n.
Mortars (Royals), British at Yorktown, **2:** 266, 266 n.
Mortimer, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 412; **3:** 77.
Morton, Andrew, clergyman, **1:** 111 n.

Mosquito Cove (Glen Cove), Long Island, **4:** 119.
Moss, ——, of Fairfax County, **2:** 144 n; Washington at, **2:** 144, 172.
Mossey Swamp, Virginia, **1:** 190.
Motte, Mary, **4:** 169 n.
Motte, Mrs. Rebecca, **2:** 227 n; **4:** 169 n.
Moultrie, William, major general, **4:** 169, 169 n, 175; Washington visits, **4:** 174.
Mound Builders, **1:** 416 n.
Mount Airy, Maryland, **2:** 44 n; Washington at, **2:** 119, 120; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 119. *See also* Calvert, Benedict.
Mount Eagle, Fairfax County, **1:** 131 n, 247 n; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **4:** 277. *See also* Fairfax, Bryan.
Mount St. Vincent, Hudson River, **2:** 239 n.
Mount Storm, Maryland, **2:** 284 n.
Mount Vernon, **1:** 129 n; acquired by Washington, **1:** 56; avenue to house, **1:** 308, 308 n, 311, 314; boundary with Spencer's tract; **1:** 372; building work, **1:** 142, 143; courtyard, **2:** 375; damaged by storm, **3:** 393; dampness on walls, **3:** 8; dancing class at, **1:** 377, 378, 387, 397; distances to Gum Spring, etc. measured by Washington, **3:** 446; fire in chimney, **3:** 295; the five farms of, **1:** 125 n, 129 n, 132 n; garden house, **2:** 422; illness at, **1:** 107, 108; inherited by Bushrod Washington, **1:** 145; manager, **1:** 251 n; Mansion House farm, grounds, etc., **1:** 212, 227, 228, 229, 289; **2:** 81, 393, 442, 443; **3:** 73, 74, 95, 135, 144, 156, 188, 211, 213, 284, 285, 286, 294, 295, 298, 299, 316, 374, 377, 378, 379, 381, 382, 397, 399, 400, 402, 404, 405, 416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 422, 423, 425, 447, 448; **4:** 4; lawn, **3:** 173, 409; circular lawn fence, **3:** 313; meadow, **1:** 273, 375; named, **1:** 129 n; new ground, **3:** 32, 47, 48, 56, 65, 159, 163, 167, 169, 204, 205, 208, 213, 264, 265, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 316, 319, 334, 340, 342, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 359, 364, 366, 367, 368, 369, 374, 375, 376, 379, 380; oyster man's behavior at, **1:** 108, 109; piazza pavement, **3:** 64, 65, 66; peristyles built, **1:** 142, 143; roads plan, **3:** 455; roof rain gutters, **2:** 418; roof drain, **2:** 454, 455; rooms, new, **2:** 378; **3:** 27, 46, 47, 51, 317; yellow room papered, **3:** 113; sills on north end of house, **3:** 33; stone steps, **3:** 7; shingling, **2:** 429; supplies from England, **1:** 273, 273 n, 312, 336, 336 n; sunken fence, **3:** 357; surveys by Washington, **1:** 245, 247, 247 n; timber landing, **2:** 98; vineyard, **3:** 334, 350, 362, 375, 378; weddings at, **2:** 423; **4:** 299; without dinner guests, **2:** 386; wood cut for Christmas, **3:** 284; woods in front of, **3:** 295; Washington returns to, **1:** 36 n, 290, 298, 317, 327, 344, 452, 455; **2:** 20, 27, 28, 29, 34, 43, 41, 60, 83, 87, 105, 108, 114, 132, 145, 155, 160 n, 169, 172, 190, 260, 317, 404, 426; **3:** 11, 26, 51, 123, 206, 238, 362, 366; **4:** 155, 199, 229, 235, 239, 290.
Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, **1:** 129 n.
Mountain Tavern, Pennsylvania, **2:** 289; Washington at, **2:** 288.
Mounts, Richard, overseer, **1:** 159, 159 n.
Mourning, purchase for Washington, **3:** 160 n.
Moustier, Éléanor François Élie, Comte de, **3:** 441, 441 n, 442; **4:** 17, 18, 18 n, 83; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 441, 442; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **4:** 20.
Mowers, needed by Washington, **3:** 81, 82.
Moyeur, ——, Le or La, dentist, **2:** 413 n; **3:** 43, 437, 438; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 413, 414, 417; **3:** 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 145, 149, 150, 166, 167, 447.
Moylan, Stephen, brigadier general, **2:** 161 n, 370 n, 372; **4:** 126; at Mount

Vernon, **2:** 161, 370, 371, 374, 376.
Moylan, Mrs. Stephen, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 372.
Moystan, Edward, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 98.
Muddy Creek. *See* Fishing Creek.
Muddy Hole Farm, **1:** 118 n, 124, 129, 161, 162, 167 n, 177, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 201, 202, 202 n, 203, 209, 212, 213, 216, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 247, 250, 251, 252, 258, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 275, 279, 280, 289, 297, 301, 310, 318, 323, 330, 331, 334, 338, 339, 346, 347, 370, 374, 375, 390, 394, 399; **2:** 16, 23, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 77, 81, 85, 293, 359, 361, 362, 363, 365, 374, 377, 391, 393, 404, 406, 412, 435, 438, 441, 442, 456, 458; **3:** 15, 21, 23, 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 47, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 74, 76, 80, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 102, 104, 108, 109, 114, 116, 118, 125, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 143, 144, 147, 148, 150, 151, 157, 159, 162, 163, 164, 166, 169, 171, 173, 177, 179, 182, 190, 191, 192, 196, 199, 200, 202, 204, 206, 207, 209, 212, 213, 240, 241, 242, 254, 255, 256, 257, 268, 259, 260, 261, 262, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 293, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 328, 329, 330, 331, 334, 335, 338, 340, 341, 343, 346, 347, 352, 356, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371, 373, 374, 375, 377, 379, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 404, 407, 410, 412, 413, 415, 419, 420, 424, 425, 426, 428, 429, 430, 431, 434, 436, 440, 445, 447, 449, 450, 453, 454, 455, 457, 458; **4:** 3, 4, 5; fox hunting at, **1:** 363; **2:** 455, 456, 459; **3:** 276, 288; overseer, **1:** 251, 254, 255; **2:** 458; **3:** 15; Washington at, **1:** 245, 246, 247, 251, 252, 253, 257, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277, 279, 283, 284, 290, 302, 307, 312, 313, 314, 320, 321, 322, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 334, 336, 344, 346, 348, 349, 350, 361, 362, 364, 368, 372, 373, 378, 385, 487, 392, 393, 394, 453; **2:** 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 50, 55, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 89, 98, 99, 100, 102, 105, 110, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 127, 133, 138, 141, 156, 160, 173 n, 184, 292, 295, 299, 334, 347, 351, 356, 359, 361, 362, 363, 365, 370, 374, 375, 379, 380, 382, 384, 386, 388, 391, 392, 404, 405, 411, 412, 413, 414, 418, 427, 430, 431, 433, 435, 460, 461; **3:** 3, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 23, 32, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 121, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 158, 160, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 174, 175, 178, 179, 185, 187, 193, 196, 198, 200, 203, 211, 240, 242, 244, 247, 252, 255, 256, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 293, 296, 299, 300, 301, 303, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 316, 324, 325, 326, 329, 331, 344, 373, 374, 377, 381, 386, 387, 388, 389, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 418, 420, 426, 427, 428, 439, 441, 442, 448, 449, 453, 455, 457; **4:** 3, 4, 5, 6; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 117, 121.
Muhlenberg, Frederick Augustus, speaker, **4:** 67, 67 n, 78 n, 101.
Muhlenberg, Peter, general, **4:** 67, 67 n, 102, 128, 157.
Muir, James, clergyman, **2:** 357 n; Washington at, **2:** 357.
Muir, John, **1:** 255 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 3, 98, 143, 144, 169, 185; **3:** 391; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 255; furnishes fiddler for Washington's election ball, **1:** 301 n; pur-

chases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95.
Muir, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 391.
Mulberry trees, **1:** 209; **2:** 345, 346, 433; **3:** 392.
Mules, **3:** 277, 284, 359, 379, 403, 430; colts, **3:** 400. *See also* Asses.
Mullen, Peg, Beefsteak House, **2:** 167 n; Washington at, **2:** 199, 199 n.
Mundell, ——, **2:** 12.
Murdock, Joseph, captain, **2:** 184 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 184.
Murford's Bridge, Skiff Creek, Virginia, **2:** 262, 262 n.
Murray, James, **3:** 411 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 411.
Murray, William Vans, **4:** 314 n.
Murray, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 13, 14, 56, 70, 179, 239, 302, 376; Washington at, **3:** 311.
Murser, ——, **2:** 376 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 376.
Murthering Town, Beaver Creek, **1:** 64.
Muscle Shoals, **4:** 79, 80, 99, 100, 100 n, 101.
Muse, Battaile, **2:** 429 n, 460; **3:** 48, 48 n, 277; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 429; **3:** 48.
Muse, George, **1:** 92, 246 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 246.
Muskingum River, Ohio, **1:** 403, 420 n, 421, 444; **2:** 318, 319, 322; distance to Little Kanhawa, **1:** 421; Washington near mouth of, **1:** 402 n, 451.
Mutiny, of troops, **2:** 210, 235.
Myers (Miers), ——, widow, Washington at, **1:** 402, 448.
Myerstown, Pennsylvania, canal, **4:** 211.
Myrtle wax, **1:** 124.
Mystick, Massachusetts, bridge, **4:** 41; Washington at, **4:** 40.

N

Nails, **2:** 407, 408.
Nancy, West Indian brig, **2:** 106, 106 n.
Nangamy River, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 285, 290.
Nangemy, Charles County, Maryland, **1:** 139 n; church, **2:** 19; parish, **1:** 139 n; Washington's land in, **2:** 413.
Nansemond, County, Virginia, **1:** 188, 189 n, 190 n.
Nansemond River, Virginia, **1:** 189 n, 193.
Nash, Robert, **1:** 397 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 397.
Nashville, **4:** 101; Miro district, **4:** 80, 100, 101.
Natchez, **4:** 88; Spanish government at, **4:** 75.
Nation, William, **1:** 119, 119 n, 127, 133, 162, 166 n.
National Road, **2:** 281 n.
Naturalization act, **4:** 108, 108 n.
Nave, Leonard, **1:** 9.
Navy, British, **2:** 212, 217, 221, 236, 240. French, **2:** 217, 217 n, 224, 230, 231, 235, 235 n, 240, 254, 257. United States, officers dine with Washington, **4:** 252.
Neale, ——, widow, **2:** 236, 236 n.
Neavil (Nevill, Neville), George, **1:** 3, 3 n, 4 n; Ordinary, **1:** 4 n, 150 n; **2:** 317 n.
Neavil, Joseph, **1:** 150, 150 n.
Neck Plantation. *See* River Farms.
Needham, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 48.
Needham's Fort, Barbadoes, **1:** 23, 24, 25, 26.
Neely, Mrs. (née Johnson), **4:** 55.
Neiley, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 351.
Nelson, Hugh, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 314.
Nelson, Mrs. Hugh, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 314.
Nelson, Thomas, **1:** 189 n.
Nelson, Thomas, Jr., secretary, **4:** 13, 13 n, 67, 67 n.
Nelson, William, **1:** 189 n; Washington visits, **1:** 354, 354 n.

Nelson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 270, 304.
Nelson, horse, **2:** 443, 443 n.
Nelson's Ferry, South Carolina, **2:** 227.
Nemacolin's Path, **2:** 284 n.
Neufville, John de, Jr., **2:** 382 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 382.
Nevil, John, **1:** 401 n.
Nevill, George. *See* Neavil.
Neville, John, colonel, **3:** 84, 84 n, 142 n.
Neville, Joseph, colonel, **2:** 298, 298 n, 313, 318.
Newark, New Jersey, Washington at, **2:** 113.
Newbern, North Carolina, palace at, **4:** 165; Washington at, **4:** 164, 165, 166.
Newberry Library, Chicago, **1:** 40.
Newbold, Charles, of New Jersey, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 306.
Newbold, Purnell, **1:** 134, 134 n.
New Bridge (Pines Bridge), Harlem River, New York, **2:** 232, 232 n, 255, 255 n.
New Brunswick, New Jersey, **2:** 258, 258 n; Washington at, **2:** 113.
Newbury Port, Massachusetts, **4:** 41, 44; Washington at, **4:** 42, 43.
Newcastle, Delaware, Washington at, **2:** 111, 162, 169; **4:** 149, 237, 238.
New Castle, Virginia, **2:** 312; Washington at, **2:** 260 n.
New Castle Island, Portsmouth, **4:** 44 n; Washington saluted by fort on, **4:** 44.
New Church. *See* Payne's Church.
Newell, ——, **1:** 121.
Newenham, Sir Edward, **3:** 35, 35 n.
New England, **2:** 218, 234, 235.
Newfoundland, Barra's intention against, **2:** 254.
Newgate, Virginia. *See* Centerville.
New Hampshire, adopts amendments to United States Constitution, **4:** 87, 87 n; commissioners to furnish beef to army, **2:** 234 n; governor and council address to Washington, **4:** 45; letter to, **2:** 218 n; ratifies Constitution, **3:** 379; troops, **2:** 214; Washington in, **4:** 42, 43, 45.
New Haven, Connecticut, address to Washington, **4:** 24, 24 n; Washington at, **4:** 24, 25, 51.
New Jersey, in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 217, 219; legislature's address to Washington, **4:** 57, 57 n; troops, **2:** 210, 235, 247, 255; **4:** 209, 211, 217.
New Kent County, Virginia, Washington in, **2:** 86.
New Kent Court House, Washington at, **2:** 130, 260 n, 468.
Newman, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 174, 181, 191.
New Market, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 371.
New Orleans, **1:** 46, 47; **4:** 132; trade, **2:** 319, 320, 325.
Newport, Ohio, **1:** 420 n.
Newport, Rhode Island, **2:** 218, 230, 247, 251.
New River, Virginia, **2:** 282, 311, 318. *See also* Great Kanhawa.
New Rochelle, New York, Washington at, **4:** 21.
Newton, Thomas, of Norfolk, **3:** 50.
Newton, Thomas, Jr., **3:** 66.
Newtown, Connecticut, **2:** 229, 229 n.
New Town, Long Island, **2:** 222; **4:** 120.
Newtown, Maryland, Washington at, **2:** 162 n, 169.
New Tavern (City Tavern), Philadelphia, **2:** 168 n; Washington at, **2:** 162, 162 n, 163, 165, 166, 168.
New Windsor, New York, **2:** 229; Washington arrives at, **2:** 219; Washington's headquarters at, **2:** 219, 219 n, 224 n.
New Year's day, Presidential reception, **4:** 65, 65 n.
New York (State), adopts amendments to United States Constitution, **4:** 112; cedes Sandy Hook to United States, **4:** 112; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 217; Federal District Court jurors, **4:** 84; invasion from Canada, **2:** 216; troops, **1:** 82; **2:** 228, 231, 246, 250, 252, 255, 256, 257, 258; mutiny, **2:** 235; quota, **2:** 249.

New York City, **2:** 196 n, 214, 216, 218, 220, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 271, 324; British works described by Washington, **2:** 237–44; campaign, **1:** xviii; citizens entertain Gage, **2:** 113; evacuation by British, **2:** 219, 221, 411, 411 n; the "14 miles around," **4:** 58, 58 n, 68; trade route with northwest, **2:** 319; Washington at, **2:** 112, 113; **4:** 13, 52, 55; Washington arrives at, **4:** 51–52, 120; Washington's journey to, **2:** 110–12; journey in 1789, **4:** 7; Washington at dances, **4:** 55; Washington and Mrs. Washington at dance, **4:** 105; Washington walks through, **4:** 113. *See also* Battery, New York, *also* Driving.

New York Gazette and Commercial Advertiser, **2:** 253 n.

Niagara, **2:** 326.

Niagara Falls, **1:** 55 n.

Nicholas, George, **4:** 74 n; letter from, **4:** 74.

Nicholas, Robert Carter, treasurer, **1:** 147, 147 n, 163, 163 n, 252 n; **2:** 17, 159 n; Washington visits, **1:** 352, 354, 379, 383; **2:** 26, 40, 56, 57, 104, 132, 152, 159.

Nicholas, Samuel. *See* Nicholls.

Nicholas, Wilson Cary, Washington visits, **1:** 375.

Nicholas, Miss, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 252, 252 n, 272, 284.

Nicholas. *See* Nichols.

Nicholls, James B., at Mount Vernon, **4:** 299.

Nicholls (Nicholas), Samuel, major, **2:** 196 n.

Nichols, Francis, major, **3:** 216, 216 n.

Nichols, Thomas, overseer, agreement with, **1:** 187.

Nichols, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 262, 273, 285, 305.

Nichols, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.

Nicholson, Joseph, **1:** 412, 412 n, 415, 416, 417, 438, 447, 448; conversation with Washington, **1:** 443.

Nicholson, ——, captain, **4:** 150.

Nickajack town (Indian), **4:** 100.

Niemcewitz, Julien, **4:** 278 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 278.

Ninety-Six, South Carolina, **2:** 227, 227 n, 234, 245.

Nisbet, John, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 423, 424.

Nisbett, J. M., at Mount Vernon, **3:** 27.

Nisbett, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 27.

Noailles, Louis Marie, Vicomte de, colonel, **2:** 269, 269 n; **4:** 247 n.

Noland's Ferry, Potomac River, **1:** 337 n.

Nomini, Westmoreland County, **1:** 288; Washington at, **1:** 269, 285, 289; **2:** 19; church, Washington at, **1:** 285.

Nomoni Creek, Westmoreland County, **1:** 285 n.

Non-Importation Association. *See* Virginia Association.

Norfleet, Marmaduke, **1:** 191; land purchased from, **1:** 191 n.

Norfleet, ——, North Carolina, Washington at, **1:** 296.

Norfleet, ——, widow, **1:** 190.

Norfolk County, Virginia, **1:** 189 n, 191.

Norman's Ford, Rappahannock River, **1:** 4 n, 337 n; Washington at, **2:** 316, 317 n.

Norris, ——, midshipman, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386.

Norristown, Pennsylvania, **4:** 218; Washington at, **4:** 209–10.

North Anna River, Virginia, **2:** 226, 226 n.

North Carolina, **2:** 254; census, **4:** 167; cession of western lands, **4:** 82, 82 n, 84, 84 n, 111, 165; committee, **4:** 89; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 217, 218; customs officers, **4:** 122; federal act for import duties, **4:** 84, 84 n; politics, **4:** 192; ratifies United States Constitution, **4:** 69, 69 n; revenue officers, **4:** 85, 86; Virginia boundary, **1:** 190, 190 n, 193; Washington's comments on country, **4:** 162, 163, 166, 186, 192, 194, 195.

Northcastle, New York, **2:** 234, 255.

Northern Neck, Virginia, **1:** 2, 5, 128 n; clerk, 141 n; families, **1:** 133 n; grant of 1706, **1:** 369 n; grant-books, **1:** 150 n, 369 n; Hite-Fairfax dispute, **1:** 340 n; survey lines, **1:** 4 n.
North Mountain, West Virginia, **1:** 405 n; **2:** 314.
North River. *See* Hudson River.
North West River, North Carolina, **1:** 193.
Northwest Territory, **4:** 127; attitude toward Kentucky, **4:** 76; trade, **2:** 325, 328.
Norton, John, **1:** 111, 111 n; **2:** 75 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 71, 72.
Norval's Tavern, Washington at, **3:** 50, 51.
Norwalk, Connecticut, British destruction at, **4:** 22, 22 n; Washington at, **4:** 22.
Nottoway, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 161.
Nottoway River, **4:** 161, 162.
Nourse, James, **2:** 9, 9 n; Washington visits, **2:** 10.
Nourse, James, sea captain, **2:** 149 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 149.
Nourse, Joseph, **4:** 113.
Nursery (plants), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 357, 390; **3:** 14.
Nuts, **2:** 179, 337 n, 383; **3:** 54.

O

Oak trees, **2:** 352, 353, 357, 362; live, **3:** 39, 54, 355, 361, 362, 373, 378, 383, 392; water acorns, **3:** 52, 54.
Oats, **1:** 148, 152, 158, 161, 165, 201, 202, 211, 319, 323; **3:** 14, 23, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44, 48, 53, 59, 60, 62, 70, 76, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 120, 129, 132, 162, 165, 167, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 195, 196, 198, 200, 202, 203, 209, 211, 260, 285, 286, 287, 289, 294, 298, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 322, 324, 327, 328, 332, 334, 335, 344, 345, 347, 351, 354, 356, 358, 359, 363, 370, 371, 373, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 394, 397, 398, 400, 403, 404, 405, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 422, 442, 453; from Eastern Shore, **1:** 311; **2:** 53, 461; **3:** 11; failure, **3:** 80; harvest, **3:** 99, 146, 271; Poland, **3:** 176, 177, 182, 186, 194, 200; purchased, **1:** 135, 152, 154; **2:** 353; **3:** 11; treading and threshing, **3:** 258, 260, 263, 271, 274, 275, 276–77, 279, 284, 285; **3:** 410, 421, 431, 441, 443, 449, 453, 455, 456, 457; quantity sown to acre, **3:** 261; wild, **3:** 333.
Occhappo Creek, **4:** 79, 134.
Occoquan, Virginia, **1:** 121, 132 n; **2:** 349; **3:** 457; ferry, **1:** 3 n; **2:** 340; Washington at, **1:** 112, 132, 202 n, 323 n; **2:** 371 n. Iron works, **1:** 320; saw mills, **1:** 227, 363 n.
O'Connell, Mrs. ——, reading by, **3:** 217.
O'Conner, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 302.
O'Connor, John, **3:** 398 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 398.
O'Connor, Mrs. ——, of Alexandria, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 434, 435.
Octagon, Mount Vernon, **2:** 179, 179 n.
Octagon House, Washington City, **4:** 302 n.
Odem, ——, Georgia, Washington at, **4:** 181.
Officers, Continental Army, visit Washington, **4:** 25.
Officers, for Virginia regiment, **4:** 155.
O'Flynn, Patrick, Wilmington, **3:** 215 n; Washington at, **3:** 215.
Ogden, John Cosens, clergyman, **4:** 43, 43 n.
Ogden, Samuel, colonel, Washington visits, **3:** 231.
Ogle, Anne, **3:** 77 n.
Ogle, Benjamin, **2:** 126 n; Washington visits, **2:** 126.
O'Higgins, Thomas, captain, **4:** 300 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 300, 302 n.

Ohio Company, **1:** 43 n, 44, 77, 77 n, 401 n, 416, 449 n; fort, **1:** 73, 77, 77 n; surveyor, **2:** 143 n; Washington at new store of, **1:** 449.
Ohio Country, French claim to, **1:** 72; inhabitants, **2:** 312, Indians uneasy at settlement of, **1:** 441; **2:** 290; lands marked by Virginians, **1:** 416; Scotch emigrants, **2:** 122; Washington in, **1:** 413, 413 n; Washington's lands in, **1:** 130; **2:** 142 n; settlers sent to, **2:** 187, 187 n, 188 n.
Ohio-Pile Falls, Youghiogheny River, **1:** 84 n.
Ohio River, **1:** 441, 443; **2:** 282, 303, 318, 320, 323; birds on, **1:** 415, 426, 426 n; buffalo on, **1:** 443; cave, **1:** 446, 446 n; current, **1:** 414; deer on, **1:** 418; described by Washington (river and country), 412–26, 429, 435, 436, 438–42; distances down, **1:** 444, 445, 446, 446 n; English fort surrendered to French, **1:** 75, 75 n, 76, 78, 91; falls, **1:** 445, 447 n, 448; **2:** 321, 327; **4:** 80; forks of, **1:** 44, 45, 60, 67, 73 n, 75, 75 n, 76, 78, 91; freshet, **1:** 434, 435, 436; French on, **1:** 43, 44, 55, 55 n, 82, 93; great bend (or bent), **1:** 424, 429, 448; Indians on, **1:** 441; lands on, **1:** 405, 441; long reach, **1:** 451; map on deer skin, **1:** 439; mouth of, **1:** 446; navigability, **1:** 440; **2:** 321; settlements southwest of, **1:** 99; rapids, **1:** 425, 429, 445; rock ledges, **1:** 424, 424 n; settlements south of, **1:** 99; Washington's camps on, **1:** 412, 416, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 425, 426, 428, 430, 439; Washington's course down, **1:** 416 n; Washington's estimate of distances, **1:** 446 n; Washington's march toward, **1:** 73, 73 n; Washington's journeys to, **1:** 44, 45, 400; Washington on, **1:** 402 *et seq.*, 450; **2:** 279–317; weather on Washington's journey, **1:** 421, 425, 434, 435; Washington's lands on, **2:** 146, 146 n.
Ohio, territory south of, distances, **4:** 101.
O'Kelly, John B., dancing master, **3:** 268 n, 288 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 268, 269, 288, 289.
Old Post, Indiana. *See* Vincennes.
Old Town (Cresap's) Maryland, **1:** 7 n, 401 n; **2:** 285, 285 n, 286 n, 287; road to Tumblestone, **2:** 287; Washington at, **1:** 406, 449, 452; **4:** 219.
Old Town Creek, Ohio, **1:** 424 n.
Oliff, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 37.
Oliver, ——, **4:** 162; Washington at, **4:** 161, 302.
Onderdonk, Henry, Long Island, **4:** 119 n; paper mill, **4:** 120; Washington at, **4:** 119.
O'Neale, Bernard, **2:** 394 n; Washington at, **2:** 394.
Oneida Lake, New York, **2:** 324.
Onion, wild, **3:** 14, 23, 39.
Onondaga Indians. *See* Indians.
Onondaga River, **2:** 324.
Orange Court House, Virginia, **2:** 316.
Orange trees, **2:** 378.
Orangeburg, South Carolina, **2:** 227, 227 n.
Oratorio, Boston, Washington attends, **4:** 26–37, 37 n.
Orchard Point, Mount Vernon, **1:** 280.
Orchards, **1:** 211; apple, **1:** 130; peach, **1:** 131, 132.
Ordinary (term), **1:** 296 n.
Ordnance, **2:** 248, 249, 271.
D'Orléans, Vicomte, **4:** 263 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Orme, Archibald, **2:** 390, 395.
Oropeak Swamp, **1:** 190, 191.
Orphan House, Charleston, Washington at, **4:** 173.
Orphans, Washington's endowment for education of, **2:** 457, 457 n.
Orphan's School, New York, charity sermon for, **4:** 54.
Orr, Benjamin, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 9.
Orr, John, **1:** 301 n.
Orrery machine, **4:** 39, 39 n.
Osborne, Jeremiah, **1:** 10.
Osborne's, ——, Washington at, **4:** 160.
Osgood, Samuel, **4:** 13, 13 n, 57, 57 n, 91; Washington's occupancy of

house of, **4:** 83 n; report on Post Office, **4:** 71, 71 n.
Osling, Jacob, **1:** 168 n, 170, 172.
Ossining, New York. *See* Sing Sing.
Oswegatche, New York, **2:** 324.
Oswego, New York, **2:** 324, 326; **4:** 16 n.
Otis, Samuel Allyne, **4:** 61, 61 n, 105.
Ottawa Indians. *See* Indians.
Ottawa River, **2:** 319 n.
Otto, Louis G., **4:** 84, 84 n.
Oudebards, ——, of West Indies, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 430.
Overdonck, Anna, **3:** 140.
Overdonck, Daniel, **3:** 164, 168, 202, 241, 312, 383; indenture purchased by Washington, **3:** 140; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 141.
Overdonck, Margaret, **3:** 140.
Overseers, **2:** 429 n; **3:** 28, 29; agreements, **1:** 77 n; **2:** 81; houses, **1:** 237, 251, 254, 255, 279, 330, 331; occasional work, **3:** 349; shares of pork, **2:** 46, 456; **3:** 148, 149, 151; **3:** 144.
Ox-cart, **1:** 293.
Oxen, awkward harrowing, **3:** 312.
Oxon Hall, Maryland, **1:** 385 n.
Oyster Bay, Long Island, **4:** 120; Washington at, **4:** 119.
Oyster party, Washington's, **1:** 354.
Oyster shells, **3:** 61.

P

Paca, Mary, **2:** 158 n.
Paca, William, **2:** 158 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 258 n.
Packet, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 449.
Paddock, for deer, **2:** 407, 418, 418 n, 453; **3:** 22, 23, 27, 34, 36.
Page, Carter, colonel, **4:** 220.
Page, John, **2:** 52 n, 154; **4:** 71, 71 n, 102, 102 n, 109, 128.
Page, Mann, **3:** 89 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 89, 90; Washington at, **3:** 366.
Page, Mary (Mollie), **2:** 52 n.
Page, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 304, 306.
Page's Tavern, Alexandria, Washington at, **4:** 3.
Pain's Falls, Potomac River, **2:** 400, 401, 402; Washington at, **2:** 398.
Paine, Robert Treat, **2:** 165 n.
Paine's, —— widow, James River, Washington at, **4:** 198.
Palatinates, settlers, **2:** 307, 307 n.
Paliurus, planted, **3:** 81.
Palmer, Jonathan, **1:** 279, 279 n, 280, 332, 337, 349, 381; agreement with, **1:** 282.
Palmer, ——, **1:** 334 n; **2:** 72.
Palmer, ——, Philadelphia merchant, **2:** 196 n.
Palmer, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 30.
Palmetto royal, **2:** 378, 383, 391, 417, 444; **3:** 34.
Pamunky River, Virginia, **2:** 226 n; **4:** 198; Washington at ferry, **1:** 202 n.
Pantheon, or Ricketts's Amphitheatre, Philadelphia, **4:** 249 n; Washington at, **4:** 249; Washington's birthday celebration at, **4:** 252 n.
Paradise, John, of England, **3:** 289 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 289, 293.
Paramus, New Jersey, **2:** 256, 256 n, 257.
Parker, Alexander, colonel, **4:** 316.
Parker, John, colonel, **4:** 42, 42 n; dines with Washington, **4:** 43.
Parker, Josiah, colonel, **2:** 352, 352 n, 357, 360.
Parker, Josiah, **4:** 87, 87 n.
Parker, Lawson, **2:** 97, 338.
Parker, Sir Peter, **4:** 173 n.
Parker, Richard, **1:** 185 n.
Parker, Samuel, clergyman, **4:** 35, 35 n.
Parker, ——, of Eastern Shore, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 313.
Parker, ——, major, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 282.
Parker, ——, **2:** 312.
Parker, —— **4:** 113.
Parker's, ——, Patterson Creek, Washington at, **1:** 406.
Parker's Ordinary, **1:** 296 n; Washington at, **1:** 296, 298, 351.

Parkinson Ferry, Monongahela River, **4:** 212, 212 n, 213 n.
Parks, Andrew, of Fredericksburg, **3:** 100 n; **4:** 283 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 283, 284.
Parks, Mrs. Andrew (Harriot Washington), **4:** 283 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 283, 284.
Parliament, taxation, **1:** 336 n, 392 n.
Parnel, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 309.
Parrott, purchased by Washington, **2:** 107 n.
Parsippany, New Jersey, **2:** 257, 257 n.
Parsnips, **3:** 207, 209.
Parsons, ——, **1:** 401 n.
Parsons, Samuel Holden, brigadier general, **2:** 241, 241 n, 242; report on British destruction of Fairfield and Norwalk, **4:** 22 n.
Parson's tavern, Springfield, Washington at, **4:** 29.
Partridge, George, **4:** 62, 105, 105 n.
Partridges, from Lafayette, **3:** 136, 138, 139 n, 141; French, **3:** 141.
Paspetank River, Dismal Swamp, **1:** 191, 193, 194.
Passaic River, New Jersey, **2:** 256 n.
Pasteur, W., physician, **2:** 59 n.
Patents, first act, **4:** 113, 113 n.
Paterson, John, brigadier general, letter from, **2:** 213, 213 n.
Paterson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 138.
Paterson, William, of New Jersey, **4:** 72, 72 n, 94, 124.
Patten, Hugh, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 213.
Patterson, Sir William, **1:** 23 n.
Patterson, ——, of England, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 123.
Patterson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 382.
Patterson's Creek (River), Virginia, **1:** 80, 406, 406 n; **2:** 281, 312, 318; Washington at, **1:** 7, 8.
Patton, James, **4:** 310 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 310, 315.
Patton & Dykes, **4:** 310 n.
Pauley, ——, South Carolina, **4:** 169 n; Washington at, **4:** 168.
Paw paw trees, **2:** 347, 355, 392, 444.
Payne, Edward, of Fairfax, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 265; Washington visits, **1:** 291, 291 n, 299; **2:** 66, 145, 145 n.
Payne's Chapel (Church), Truro Parish, Fairfax, **1:** 291 n; **2:** 10; Washington at, **1:** 291.
Peach Island, Potomac River, **2:** 403.
Peach orchard, **1:** 186, 187, 200, 214, 216.
Peach trees, **1:** 161; **2:** 341, 349, 350; **3:** 13 n, 24; Portugal, **2:** 349; **3:** 13, 32.
Peaches, **1:** 201; **2:** 179; **4:** 275.
Peachy, William, colonel, **1:** 397 n; **2:** 375; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 397.
Peachy (Pearcy), William, **3:** 311, 322, 324, 327, 334, 351, 353.
Peake, Annie (Nancy), **2:** 170 n, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 22, 80, 170, 181, 455.
Peake Family, **1:** 132 n.
Peake, Harry, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 260, 305, 434.
Peake, Humphrey, **1:** 132, 132 n, 256 n, 258; **2:** 50; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 256, 266, 299, 329, 361, 364, 365, 370, 389, 453; **2:** 46, 72, 98, 103, 155, 158, 170; duck hunting with Washington, **1:** 348; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 264, 265, 308, 364, 454, 455; **2:** 3, 4, 42, 45, 51, 103, 137; funeral, **2:** 335; illness, **1:** 371, 373; **2:** 333; Washington visits, **1:** 371, 373, 374; **2:** 233.
Peake, Mrs. Humphrey, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 377; **2:** 117, 433, 434.
Peake, William, **1:** 132; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 456; **3:** 112; **4:** 3; fox hunting with Washington, **2:** 455.
Peake, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 257, 304.
Peake, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 286, 314.
Peake, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 138, 151; **4:** 277.
Peale, Charles Willson, **2:** 64 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 64, 134, 137; draws picture of John Parke Custis, **2:** 137 n; paints Washington's por-

trait, **2**: 64, 64 n, 65, 65 n; **3**: 226, 227; paints miniatures, **2**: 65 n.
Pear trees, **2**: 341, 342, 435, 444; **3**: 24, 31.
Pears, **1**: 146, 147, 199, 200, 210; **2**: 355, 243, 356; **3**: 13.
Pearce, William, manager, **4**: 278, 278 n.
Pearsal, Job, Washington at, **1**: 73 n, 74, 74 n.
Pearson, Margaret, **1**: 110 n.
Pearson, Simon, land purchased from, **1**: 154, 154 n.
Pearson, Thomas, **1**: 154; Harrison's Patent, **1**: 369.
Pearson, William, **1**: 369 n.
Pearson's Island, **1**: 255 n.
Peas or Pease, **1**: 228, 229; **2**: 363, 364, 370, 373, 393; **3**: 42, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60; **3**: 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 72, 73, 87, 90; **3**: 118, 123, 124, 130, 132, 159, 161, 176, 187, 212, 243, 244, 247, 254, 255, 259, 287, 279, 298, 310, 311, 314, 318, 320, 324, 326, 327, 334, 339, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 352, 354, 355, 356, 357, 359, 360, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 373, 374, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 384, 396, 397, 401, 402, 404, 405, 407, 413, 416, 425, 426, 428, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435; frost bitten, **3**: 247, 255, 256, 262, 267, 279, 298, 300; harvest, **3**: 134, 135, 243, 244, 247, 254, 256, 258, 260, 261, 262, 294, 299; number to a pint, **3**: 346; threshing, **3**: 266, 277, 279, 293, 295, 296, 297, 447.
Peekskill, New York, **2**: 227, 227 n, 233.
Peers, Mrs. Valentine, **3**: 12; Washington attends funeral, **3**: 57.
Pekmoller, ——, of Hamburg, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 277.
Pemberton, Joseph, **2**: 165 n; Washington visits, **2**: 165.
Pendergrasses Settlement, Frederick County, North Branch of Potomac, Washington at, **1**: 406.
Pendleton, Edmund, **1**: 191 n; **2**: 128 n, 151 n, 159 n, 162 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 36, 162.
Pendleton, Philip, **2**: 23 n; land sold to, **2**: 23; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 44, 67, 98, 99.
Penfield House, Rye, **4**: 21 n.
Penn, John, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, **2**: 111 n; Washington visits, **3**: 217, 220, 234.
Penn, John, Jr., Washington visits, **3**: 228.
Penn, Richard, lieutenant governor, **2**: 111 n, 163; Washington visits, **2**: 111, 112, 163, 198.
Pennington, Isaac, captain, Washington at, **1**: 5.
Pennsylvania, **2**: 225, 322; adopts amendments to U.S. Constitution, **4**: 103, 103 n, 104, 104 n; application for passage to the Monongahela river, **2**: 328; boundaries, **1**: 343; **2**: 290, 302; in Constitutional Convention, **3**: 46; control of Monongahela, **2**: 290; governor, **1**: 75, 95, 96; governor's letter, **4**: 103, 103 n; governor's club, Washington at, **2**: 167, 196; House of Representatives dines with Washington, **4**: 251, 252; insurrection in western, **4**: 209–23; map of, **2**: 323; money raised for, war, **1**: 81; letter from Speaker of the House, **4**: 103, 103 n; supplies from, **2**: 234; troops, **4**: 15, 209, 210, 211, 217; State House, **2**: 164, 196; Constitutional Convention at, **3**: 217, 218; Washington walks in yard of, **3**: 226; Washington's land affairs in, **3**: 142, 142 n; Washington at Virginia boundary line, **1**: 343; Washington's comments on the country, **4**: 203, 218.
Pennsylvania, Historical Society of, **1**: xx.
Pensions, **4**: 109; act for, **4**: 143, 143 n; agents, **4**: 81.
Penthere, Gion, Comte de, captain, **4**: 19, 38, 38 n.
Pepper, bird, **2**: 409.
Pequemen Bridge, Dismal Swamp, **1**: 191, 194.
Pequemen River, Dismal Swamp, **1**: 191, 192, 193.

Peran, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 141.
Perin, ——, of Alexandria, **2**: 419.
Perkins, ——, squire, Ashford, Washington visits, **4**: 49, 50.
Perrin, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 106.
Perry Gardens, New York, **4**: 18 n; Washington at, **4**: 18.
Perryville, Maryland. *See* Susquehannah Ferry.
Persimmon trees, **2**: 409.
Persimmons, **3**: 336.
Petapsco River, Maryland, Washington at, **2**: 194 n.
Peter, George, lieutenant, **4**: 313 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 313.
Peter, Robert, **4**: 199.
Peter, Thomas, of Georgetown, **4**: 270 n, 285, 286, 287, 305; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 261, 273, 274, 275, 276, 285, 298, 299, 312, 313, 314; children, **4**: 276; Washington visits, **4**: 255, 258, 270, 284, 287, 290, 305, 317; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **4**: 277, 277 n.
Peter, Mrs. Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 261, 305.
Peters, Richard, of Pennsylvania, **2**: 228; **3**: 218 n, 439; **4**: 289; conference with Washington, **2**: 253; Washington visits, **3**: 218, 233; **4**: 289.
Peters' tavern, Maryland, **4**: 201.
Petersburg, Virginia, **2**: 223, 223 n; **4**: 160, 162; address to Washington, **4**: 160; Washington at, **4**: 160.
Peterson, Agnes, **2**: 23 n.
Peterson & Taylor, of Alexandria, **3**: 363.
Petit, John, **1**: 124.
Petit, Thomas, **1**: 166 n.
Petrie, George John, captain, **1**: 24, 24 n, 25, 26.
Petworth, District of Columbia, **4**: 302 n.
Peyton, Craven, **2**: 121 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 121, 138.
Peyton, Francis, colonel, **2**: 121 n, 171.
Peyton, ——, Washington at, **2**: 10 n, 33.
Peyton's Island, Ohio River, **1**: 420 n.
Peyton's Ordinary, Aquia, Virginia, **1**: 322 n; Washington at, **1**: 315, 315 n, 322, 323, 350, 351; **2**: 79.
Pheasant hunting, **1**: 303. *See also* Gunning.
Pheasant, Chinese, from Lafayette, **3**: 136, 138, 139 n, 141; French, **3**: 141.
Phifer, Martin, major, **4**: 185.
Philadelphia, **2**: 237, 241, 249, 252, 258, 323; **3**: 191, 192; Assembly Dance, Washington at, **2**: 111; celebrates Washington's birthday, **4**: 252, 252 n; Jockey Club, Washington at, **2**: 111; races, **2**: 110 n; trade with western county, **2**: 320; Washington at, **2**: 111, 113, 162, 163–68, 166, 167, 168; 195, 199, 258; **3**: 216, 237; **4**: 223 n, 229, 234, 237, 239, 242, 254, 254 n, 287–90; purchases by Washington in, **1**: 169 n; Washington's Ohio land fraudulently offered for sale in, **2**: 317.
Philadelphia College, **2**: 195 n; Washington at, **2**: 195.
Philadelphia troops, artillery, **3**: 216, 221; Light Horse, **3**: 216, 221, 236, 236 n; Light Infantry, **3**: 221.
Philips (Phillips), Theophilus, colonel, **2**: 300, 300 n; 302; Washington at, **2**: 301.
Philips, ——, Indian trader, **1**: 420.
Philips, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 385, 386, 446.
Philipse, Mary, **4**: 142 n.
Philipse Manor, **2**: 250, 250 n, 251.
Philirea latifolio, **3**: 83.
Phillips, Samuel, **4**: 47 n; shows attention to Washington, **4**: 47.
Phillis, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 309.
Phœnix, Washington's tobacco shipped in, **1**: 167 n.
Physic nut tree, **2**: 383, **3**: 41.
Piazza, ceiling, **2**: 410, 412.
Pickens, Andrew, **2**: 227; **4**: 180 n.
Pickering, John, vice-president of New Hampshire, **4**: 42 n, 44 n; dines with Washington, **4**: 43.
Pickering, Timothy, quartermaster general, **2**: 207 n, 220 n, 223; **4**: 289 n; Washington visits, **4**: 289.

Picnic, Washington at Johnson's Spring, **2:** 412.
Pidgeon Hill, Yorktown, Virginia, **2:** 263, 263 n.
Piedmont, settlers, **1:** 4 n.
Pierce, Edward, **4:** 199 n.
Pierce, James, **4:** 199 n.
Pierce, William, of Georgia, **3:** 220, 220 n.
Pierce, ——, of Georgia, Washington at, **4:** 178.
Piercy, ——, clergyman, **2:** 198, 198 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 170.
Pierpont, John, **2:** 302, 302 n, 310.
Pigs, **1:** 183, 184; purchased, **1:** 140 n, 142. *See also* Hogs.
Pignut Ridge, Virginia, **1:** 150, 150 n.
Pinckard, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 264.
Pinckney, Charles, **3:** 217, 219.
Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, **3:** 134 n, 244 n; **4:** 170 n, 171, 171 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 134, 244; **4:** 291; Washington visits, **4:** 170, 171, 173.
Pinckney, Thomas, governor, **4:** 111 n, 264 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 264, 300; letter, **4:** 111.
Pincushion, Mount Vernon, **2:** 457, 459; fox hunting in, **3:** 273, 279.
Pine, Robert Edge, **2:** 370 n, 378; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 370, 371, 372, 377; portrait of Washington, **3:** 226, 226 n; portraits of Frances Bassett and George W. P. Custis, **2:** 461; Washington visits, **3:** 236.
Pine nuts, Mediterranean, **1:** 145.
Pine trees, **1:** 149, 155, 190; **2:** 351, 352, 353, 354, 373, 392, 433, 442, 454; **3:** 10, 12; groves, **2:** 337, 348, 351, 358; at end of lawn and in Serpentine walks, **2:** 431.
Pinesbridge, New York. *See* New Bridge.
Piney Branch, Mount Vernon, **3:** 68, 76; water for mill, **1:** 455; **2:** 12.
Piney Cover (Branch), Fairfax County, **1:** 364, 365.
Piney Creek, Pennsylvania, **1:** 64 n.
Pipe Creek, Maryland, Washington, at, **4:** 202.
Pipe Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 417, 437, 444.
Piper, Henry (Harry), **1:** 133, 133 n, 367; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 272, 303, 312, 364, 377; **2:** 3, 32, 37, 49, 83, 98, 119, 143, 144, 157; charge for his fiddler at Washington's ball, **2:** 43; coal bought from, **2:** 83 n; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 304; **2:** 49; slave bought from, **1:** 278.
Pipes, Indian stone, **1:** 417.
Piscataway, Maryland, **2:** 108 n; Washington at, **2:** 108.
Piscataway Neck, **1:** 125 n.
Piscataway, Indian Emperor, **1:** 125 n.
Pistachio nut, **3:** 54, 82.
Pitt Light Horse, North Carolina, escorts Washington, **4:** 165.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, **1:** 411, 443, 447; **2:** 225; Washington at, **1:** 447, 448.
Plank, **1:** 227, 251; **2:** 379; **3:** 363.
Plantations, Mount Vernon, Washington visits all, **1:** 374; **2:** 106; **3:** 27, 32, 33, 35, 58, 62, 76, 79, 80, 87, 89, 94, 97, 119, 123, 124, 125, 132, 133, 134, 136, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 171, 172, 175, 176, 178, 180, 182, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 195, 200, 204, 208, 240, 241, 242, 243, 254, 258, 260, 262, 263, 264, 266, 275, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282, 285, 288, 294, 298, 303, 304, 307, 309, 311, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 326, 327, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342, 343, 345, 346, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357, 359, 364, 369, 374, 375, 376, 379, 382, 383, 385, 386, 388, 390, 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 398, 400, 401, 406, 407, 409, 410, 415, 419, 420, 421, 424, 425, 426, 428, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 438, 440, 443, 445, 447, 449, 450.
Planting (sowing, seeding, etc.), **1:** 155, 158, 177, 178, 186, 187, 188, 200, 201, 202, 203, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 237, 238, 239, 240, 265, 266, 267, 270, 282, 289, 293,

297, 323, 339, 346, 347, 351, 375, 381, 394, 395, 399; **2:** 16; 23, 28, 31, 32, 35, 41, 46, 73, 76, 77, 81, 362, 363, 365, 367, 369, 377, 406, 410, 420; **3:** 9, 10, 12, 23, 24, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 80, 81, 82, 98, 99, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 136, 137, 144, 165, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 202, 206, 211, 212, 213, 243, 247, 258, 261, 262, 293, 307, 310, 311, 313, 314, 315, 317, 318, 319, 322, 324, 325, 328, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 363, 364, 366, 367, 373, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 396, 407, 408, 409, 411, 412, 413, 415, 416, 417, 419, 421, 427, 428, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 438, 439, 440, 443, 445; **4:** 4, 275; experimental, **1:** 148, 153; **3:** 52, 53, 59, 60, 68, 178, 179, 190, 196, 210; with barrel plow, **1:** 211; **3:** 48, 256, 257, 260; mathematics of certain seed, **3:** 346; method, **3:** 118, 119, 133, 137, 243, 316, 343, 358, 381, 418, 428; on snow, **3:** 50, 165, 166, 303; **4:** 4, 5.

Plaster of Paris, experiments as soil enricher, **2:** 348, 349, 358, 362, 365, 368, 429, 432, 433; **3:** 222, 223, 262; **4:** 302; lack of results from, **2:** 374.

Plastering, agreement, **3:** 73.

Plater, George, colonel, **2:** 398; **3:** 419 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 420.

Plater, Mrs. George, **3:** 419 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 419, 420.

Platt, Mrs. Jonas, Huntington, Washington at, **4:** 119.

Pleasants, J. Hall, **1:** xii.

Pleasants, Samuel, Philadelphia, **2:** 163 n; Washington visits, **2:** 163, 198.

Plow, **1:** 152; **2:** 358; **3:** 5; colter, **3:** 101; experimental barrel or drill plow made by Washington, **3:** 38, 40, 41, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 72, 80, 81, 99, 187, 196, 200, 204, 207, 209; plow made by Washington, **1:** 142, 149; patent sent Washington, **3:** 398; Dutch plows purchased by Washington, **2:** 69 n; two-eyed, **1:** 135.

Plowing, **1:** 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 151, 152, 162, 200, 202, 237, 238, 267, 279, 319, 327, 330, 331, 332, 339, 347, 351, 395, 396; **2:** 24, 348, 358, 359, 361, 364; **3:** 5, 28, 33, 34, 38, 39, 42, 45, 46, 47, 51, 58, 61, 63, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101, 107, 109, 113, 115, 118, 120, 121, 125, 128, 133, 134, 135, 151, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 192, 200, 203, 204, 206, 209, 212, 213, 239, 240, 241, 242, 254, 255, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 289, 302, 304, 305, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 350, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 379, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 458; **4:** 5, 6; broad and narrow furrow, **3:** 173; deep, **3:** 408; experiment, **1:** 347; heavy, **3:** 62, 68, 69; method, **3:** 172, 182; mules used, **3:** 277.

Plums, **1:** 145, 146, 199; **2:** 356; **3:** 24, 31; wild or Cherokee, **3:** 32.

Pocahontas Mary, of Maryland, **1:** 125 n.

Pocomoke River, Virginia and Maryland commission on jurisdiction, **2:** 352, 352 n.
Pocoson, (marsh), **1:** 134, 134 n, 153, 188–89, 190, 191; blind, **1:** 365; **2:** 380.
Pocotaligo, South Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 175.
Poellnitz, Baron, **4:** 73; letter to, **4:** 72 n; Washington visits, **4:** 72, 72 n.
Pohick Church, Fairfax, **1:** 238 n, 264 n; **2:** 61, 71, 160, 183, 419; **3:** 60, 111, 125, 261; cipher on Fairfax pew, **2:** 160 n; plate, **1:** 238 n; present building, **1:** 154 n; memorial service to Mrs. George Mason, **2:** 109 n; minister, **3:** 174 n; *see also* Green, Charles, *also* Massey, Lee; vestry meeting, **1:** 235, 277, 315; **2:** 25, 42, 66 n, 121, 142, 143; *see also* Truro Parish, vestry meetings; Washington attends vestries, **1:** 277, 278; **2:** 25, 121, 142, 143; *see also* Truro Parish; Washington at, **1:** 264, 272, 277, 278, 295, 299, 300, 309, 320, 321, 326, 328, 335, 345, 365, 369, 371, 386, 393, 453, 454; **2:** 5, 14, 22, 28, 45, 63, 66, 68, 71, 73, 80, 90, 107, 121, 146, 147, 150, 156, 157, 160, 161, 170, 182, 188, 191, 419; **3:** 125, 261, 436; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 5, 61, 118, 126.
Pohick Run (Creek), **2:** 80; **3:** 101; turning mill, **2:** 348.
Point Pleasant, West Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 312.
Polk, Charles, **1:** 6, 7.
Polk, Thomas, general, **4:** 185 n; Washington dines with, **4:** 185.
Pollock, Oliver, **3:** 9 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 9; Washington at, **3:** 233.
Pomfret, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 49, 50.
Pompton, New Jersey, **2:** 256, 256 n.
Pond, Enoch, clergyman, **4:** 50, 50 n.
Poor, the, pork for, **2:** 456; Washington's endowment for free education, **2:** 457.
Pool, Thomas, **3:** 156.
Poole, William, **1:** 167 n.
Pope, John, elected State Senator, **3:** 268, 268 n, 331, 331 n.
Pope's Creek, Maryland, **2:** 378; Washington's barge sent to, **2:** 377.
Pope's Creek, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 36 n, 270; **2:** 19.
Pope's Head Run, Fairfax County, **2:** 10 n.
Poplar trees, **2:** 345, 346, 349, 392, 433.
Pork, **1:** 107, 110, 111; **2:** 46, 456. *See also* Pigs, *also* Hogs.
Port Conway, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 113 n.
Port Royal, Virginia, **1:** 58, 111, 112, 113, 114; Washington at, **1:** 324; **2:** 103, 103 n.
Port Tobacco, Maryland, **1:** 121, 137; **3:** 115; Washington at, **2:** 103, 103 n, 105, 155 n, 156, 156 n, 270.
Porter, Charles, **2:** 376 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 376.
Porter, John, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 11.
Porter, Reason, **1:** 376.
Porter, ——, **3:** 308, 388; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 387, 414, 445, 461; **3:** 56, 63, 96, 117, 128, 141, 162, 178, 179, 187, 201, 257, 272, 282, 292, 302, 307, 345, 391, 446; fox hunting with Washington, **3:** 283; marriage, **3:** 302; Washington visits, **3:** 311.
Porter, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 353.
Porter & Ingraham, Alexandria merchants, **3:** 161 n, 302 n.
Portraits. *See* Gülager, Christian; Peale, Charles Willson; Pine, Robert Edge; Savage, Edward; Stuart, Gilbert; Trumbull, John.
Portsmouth, New Hampshire, **4:** 45, 46; address to Washington, **4:** 44, 44 n; civic jealousy of Exeter, **4:** 46; Washington at, **4:** 43, 44, 45; Washington's comment on brunettes, **4:** 45.
Portsmouth, Virginia, **2:** 246.
Portugal, **4:** 109.
Posey, Amelia (Milly), **1:** 333, 333 n, 373; **2:** 71; Washington pays dancing school fee, **1:** 373 n.

Posey, C——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 72.
Posey, Hanson, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 139.
Posey, John, captain, **1:** 107, 121, 139, 139 n, 186, 252, 254, 333 n, 381; **2:** 301; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 124, 134, 348, 349, 373, 374; **2:** 61, 64, 66, 72, 75, 83, 138, 147, 210, 252; attends vestry meeting, **1:** 345; barn, **1:** 178, 178 n; candidate for burgess, **1:** 301n; dogs, **1:** 275; ferry, **1:** 155, 155 n, 258, 350, 352; **2:** 155; Washington at ferry, **1:** 155, 155 n; **2:** 155; Washington's survey of ferry, **1:** 352; fish landing or fishery, **1:** 367, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376; **2:** 63, 69, 69 n; Washington at landing, **2:** 148, 149; fish landing purchased by Washington, **1:** 367; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 245, 247, 251, 252, 253, 255, 257, 264, 265, 294, 295; land, **1:** 124, 136; land purchased from Marshall, **1:** 348; land purchased by Washington and added to Mount Vernon, **1:** 107 n, 350, 350 n; **2:** 83 n; land surveyed by Washington, **2:** 10; sale of property and effects, **1:** 349, 349 n, 350 n, 378; Washington at sale, **1:** 349, 350; Washington at, **1:** 328, 334, 348, 362, 378, 397, 398, 453, 454; **2:** 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 60, 160.
Posey, Mrs. John, **1:** 120; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 119, 124, 142, 265.
Posey, Price, **2:** 6 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 6, 23, 45, 120, 121, 147, 183.
Posey, Thomas, **2:** 410 n.
Postmaster General, America, **2:** 62 n. *See also* Osgood, Samuel.
Post Office, report on, **4:** 71, 71 n.
Potash, **4:** 27.
Potatoes, **1:** 237; **3:** 44, 45, 47, 51, 59, 61, 62, 63, 70, 76, 80, 87, 88, 90, 97, 131, 132, 158, 161, 167, 187, 207, 213, 260, 262, 263, 272, 281, 331, 332, 335, 336, 349, 350, 356, 357, 358, 359, 363, 364, 367, 368, 374, 375, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 390, 392, 401, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 412, 413, 415, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455; experiment, **3:** 210, 259, 278; failure of seed, **3:** 187; frosted, **3:** 247, 452; harvest, **3:** 129, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 158, 161, 254, 255, 256, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 281; stolen, **3:** 254; sweet, **3:** 199, 207, 325, 327, 333, 337, 367.
Potomac Navigation Co., **2:** 170, 170 n, 183 n, 396, 452; **3:** 85, 214; accounts, **3:** 122, 122 n; advertisement for provision contract, **3:** 26; annual report, **3:** 102, 102 n; affairs, business, etc., **2:** 412, 417; **3:** 384, 399, 432; **4:** 237, 270 n; arrearage notices, **3:** 346; authorized, **2:** 336; contract for feeding laborers, **3:** 44; directors, **2:** 397, 424; formation, **1:** 363 n; manager, **2:** 386; meetings, **2:** 170, 376, 380, 386, 394, 399, 400, 401, 434; **3:** 7, 10, 25, 44, 83, 84, 102, 122, 265, 265 n, 297, 360, 361, 362, 398; **4:** 258, 270, 271, 282, 310, 310 n; meetings attended by Washington, **2:** 380, 386, 394; **3:** 360, 361, 362, 398; **4:** 258, 258 n; petition to Maryland and Virginia Assemblies, **3:** 122; situation, **3:** 265 n; subscriptions, **2:** 336; thanks to Washington, **3:** 106; Washington's assessment, **2:** 391 n, Washington elected President, **2:** 376; Washington's interest in, **1:** 363 n; votes shares to Washington, **2:** 376, 376 n; works, **2:** 425, 397; **3:** 27, 265 n.
Potomac Creek, **1:** 125 n.
Potomac Path, to Williamsburg, **1:** 155 n.
Potomac River, **1:** 6, 16, 363; **2:** 183, 251, 253, 292, 300, 318, 328, 336, 336 n, 337, 396, 397, 399; **3:** 122; bridge, Washington at, **4:** 257, 257 n; Brooke's map, **1:** 112 n; communication with Monongahela, **2:** 281; described by Washington, **2:** 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 415, 416; ice in, **1:** 115, 116, 117, 118, 248, 249, 250; **2:** 333, 334; **3:** 145, 294, 299, 302, 429,

300; inland navigation, **2:** 280; islands, **2:** 403, 416; jurisdiction commission of Maryland and Virginia, **2:** 352, 352 n; navigation act, **2:** 60 n; seat of government of United States, **4:** 142, 142 n, 143 n; Washington's interest in, **2:** 280; Washington on, **1:** 6, 7, 8; **2:** 395, 399, 400, 402, 415; **3:** 85; **4:** 219; Washington's opinion of part between Seneca and Great Falls, **3:** 85.

Potomac River, North Branch, **1:** 401, 401 n, 406; **2:** 284, 284 n, 285, 288, 290, 303, 304, 308, 309, 310, 311, 318, 322; Washington's land on, **2:** 286; South Branch, **1:** 11, 50, 50 n, 284 n, 285, 313, 318, 401 n, 406; Washington at, **1:** 7, 8, 12; **2:** 312, 314; iron works proposed, **3:** 31.

Pottle, **3:** 341 n.

Potts, John, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 422, 424, 446; **3:** 10, 11, 26, 27, 122, 123, 148, 180, 269, 441; **4:** 38, 258, 262, 264, 280, 291, 311; Washington visits, **4:** 262.

Potts, John, Jr., **2:** 412 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 412.

Potts, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 299.

Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania, Washington at, **4:** 210, 210 n.

Powder, **2:** 185 n, 193 n, 219.

Powell, Joseph, **3:** 424 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 424.

Powell, Leven, colonel, **3:** 143; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 309.

Powell, Samuel, of Pennsylvania, **2:** 426, 426 n, 431; **3:** 217 n, 223; accompanies Washington to Whitemarsh, **3:** 233; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 96, 123, 242, 243, 263, 318; **4:** 305; Washington visits, **3:** 217, 218, 222, 223, 226, 228, 229, 232, 233, 234, 236.

Powell, William, agreement with Washington to manage Mrs. Mary Washington's plantation, **2:** 36.

Power, ——, dines with Washington, **1:** 341, 342.

Powers, Elizabeth (Betsy), **1:** 130 n.

Pownall, Thomas, edition of Evans' map, **2:** 323 n.

Poythress, Sally, **1:** 335 n.

Prager, ——, Philadelphia, **3:** 350; Washington at, **3:** 224.

Prayers, **1:** 90; Washington at, **1:** 356.

Prentis, John, **2:** 71 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 71, 72.

Presbyterian or Congregationalist Church, Portsmouth, Washington at, **4:** 43.

Presbyterian clergy, of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, **4:** 44, 44 n.

Presbyterian meeting, Philadelphia, **2:** 167 n; Washington at, **2:** 167.

President of the United States, audience with, **4:** 106; command of militia, **4:** 32 n; elector's election, **4:** 3; furniture, **4:** 254 n; precedent in attending funerals, **4:** 52; powers of, **4:** 90; Washington's gratuity to servants, **4:** 254 n; Washington notified of his election, **4:** 7.

President's House, Washington, D.C., location, **4:** 200 n, 201.

Presque Isle, Pennsylvania, **2:** 319, 323.

Preston County, West Virginia, **2:** 284 n.

Price, Richard, Clergyman, **2:** 381 n.

Price, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 264, 264 n.

Price, William, **2:** 381 n.

Pride, ——, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 196.

Pride of China tree, **2:** 383, 392, 417; **3:** 37, 41, 43.

Prince, William, gardens, **4:** 18 n; Washington at, **4:** 18, 19.

Prince, ——, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 376.

Prince Edward Court House, Washington at, **4:** 197.

Prince George County, Maryland, **2:** 36.

Prince William County, Virginia, **1:** 4 n, 130 n; Washington in, **1:** 3, 3 n; **2:** 317 n; Militia, equipment for, **2:** 148 n, 170, 186 n, 193 n, 196 n, 198 n; Washington's command of, **2:** 182 n.

Prince William Court House, Virginia, **1:** 3 n; **2:** 317.

Prince William District, South Carolina, address to Washington, **4:** 175, 175 n.
Princeton, New Jersey, **2:** 258, 258 n; Washington at, **2:** 112, 113.
Principio Company, iron works, **2:** 138 n.
Pringle, John, **3:** 6 n.
Prisoners, civil, received in N.Y. jails, **4:** 112.
Prisoners of war, American naval, aided by Dohrman, **2:** 389 n, 390 n; British, **2:** 270, 270 n.
Pritchard, Samuel, **1:** 400 n, 401, 406; Washington at, **1:** 400, 405.
Proclamation, President's, on Georgia's sale of Indian lands, **4:** 125, 127; ordering cessation of opposition to excise laws, **4:** 209 n.
Proctor's Run, West Virginia, **1:** 419 n.
Prout, William, **4:** 199 n.
Providence, Rhode Island, **2:** 218, 221.
Province Arms, New York tavern, **2:** 112 n.
Province Island, Philadelphia, **2:** 164 n; Washington at, **2:** 164, 167, 197.
Provisions, for army, **2:** 210, 212, 249.
Provoost, Samuel, clergyman, **4:** 59, 59 n, 115.
Public credit, Hamilton's report, **4:** 65, 65 n.
Pugh, ——, Shenandoah Valley, Washington at, **1:** 400 n.
Pumpkins (Pumpions), **3:** 49, 53, 60, 159, 213, 247, 278, 340, 341, 342, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 356, 357, 359, 367, 368, 369, 391, 392, 393, 407, 431, 438.
Punch, **2:** 17.
Punch, horse, **1:** 162.
Purdie, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 412.
Pursel, John, **1:** 334 n.
Pursel, Thomas, **1:** 342, n.
Pursel, ——, governor, **1:** 26.
Pursley, Thomas, **1:** 337.
Pursley's Island, Ohio River, **1:** 420 n.
Purviance, Robert, **3:** 341 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 433.
Purysburg, South Carolina, **4:** 175 n, 176; Washington at, **4:** 175.
Putnam, Herbert, **1:** xiii.
Putnam, Israel, major general, **4:** 49, 50.
Putnam, Rufus, general, **4:** 127, 127 n.
Putnam, ——, **4:** 173.
Pye, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 306.

Q

Quakers, address to Washington, **4:** 20; meeting, **2:** 165 n; meeting attended by Washington, **2:** 165; urge emancipation of slaves, **4:** 103, 104.
Quantico River, Virginia, **1:** 3 n, 112 n.
Quartermaster General, **2:** 210, 211, 212, 248, 255, 256.
Quebec, **2:** 324.
Queen Ann tavern, Anne Arundel County, **4:** 152 n; Washington at, **2:** 162; **4:** 152.
Queen Charlotte, vessel, Washington on, **2:** 261.
Queen's birthnight celebration, Williamsburg, Washington at, **1:** 325.
Queen's Museum, Charlotte, school, **4:** 185, 186 n.
Queen's Rangers, **2:** 34 n, 251, 251 n, 252.
Quesada, Don Juan Nepomuceno, **4:** 180, 180 n, 181 n.
Quince, John, Wilmington, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 166 n.
Quinces, **1:** 146.
Quotas of troops, **2:** 248.

R

Rabies, cure for, **4:** 262 n; slave sent to Lebanon for treatment, **4:** 262, 262 n.
Raccoon, caught by Washington, **1:** 346.
Raccoon Creek, Pennsylvania, **1:** 413, 413 n, 444, 447.
Races, Washington at, **2:** 34, 35, 82,

125; **2:** 110 n, 125, 126 n, 426, 427; **3:** 124; **4:** 304.
Rails, **3:** 158, 161, 165, 166, 279, 280, 282, 284, 285, 286, 289, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 306, 308, 341, 342, 346, 347, 348, 356, 359, 397, 398, 423, 424, 425, 431.
Rain, **2:** 45, 408, 410; **3:** 336, 337; damages grain, and seed, **1:** 395; **2:** 414, 422; **3:** 66, 67; **3:** 372, 395; effect on, **3:** 58, 59; endangers Washington's flour, **2:** 350; heavy and unusual, **2:** 313; **3:** 69, 109, 111, 112, 116; interrupts harvest, **3:** 385, 386, 388; prevents reconnoissance of British works, **2:** 235; prevents Washington visiting his farms, **3:** 184.
Raleigh tavern, Williamsburg, **2:** 151 n, ball in Apollo room, **2:** 86; Virginia Burgesses meet in, **1:** 325 n; **2:** 152 n; Washington at, **1:** 379; **2:** 128, 153, 154. *See also* Southall, James Barret.
Ralph Ferry, Dismal Swamp, **1:** 191, 192.
Ramage, John, miniature of Washington, **4:** 14, 14 n.
Ramnus tree, **3:** 83.
Ramsay, Alexander, **1:** 377 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 377.
Ramsay, Andrew, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 299.
Ramsay, Anthony, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 42.
Ramsay, Dennis, **1:** 377 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 378.
Ramsay, Elizabeth (Betsy), at Mount Vernon, **1:** 258, 264, 377; **2:** 139, 143, 187.
Ramsay, John or William, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 307.
Ramsay, Miss Sarah (Sally), **2:** 423 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 423, 461, **3:** 11, 192.
Ramsay, William, **1:** 121, 121 n, 133, 133 n, 134, 258 n, 342 n, 423 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 256; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95; Washington attends funeral, **2:** 342.
Ramsay, Mrs. William, **2:** 356 n; Washington attends funeral of, **2:** 356.
Ramsay, ——, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 414; **3:** 98, 239; **4:** 280, 281, 311; Washington visits, **2:** 426.
Ramsay, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 414.
Ramsay, ——, **2:** 110, 391; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 293, 295, 318, 334, 370, 389; **2:** 49, 55, 62, 160, 169; **3:** 449.
Ramsay, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 258, 264.
Ramsay, Mrs., ——, Prince George County, Maryland, Washington visits, **2:** 194.
Ramsay, ——, widow, Washington at, **2:** 114.
Ramsay, Miss ——, **3:** 12; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 298, 299; **3:** 14, 96.
Randolph, Beverley, lieutenant governor, **3:** 50; **4:** 60 n, 158 n, 159; Washington visits, **3:** 50.
Randolph, Mrs. Beverley, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 278.
Randolph, David Meade, captain, **2:** 225, 225 n; **4:** 160, 160 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 279.
Randolph, Edmund, **3:** 212 n, 214 n, 217; **4:** 85, 122 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 117, 118; Virginia commissioner on trade relations with Maryland, **2:** 352, 352 n; Washington visits, **3:** 51, 225.
Randolph, Eliza, **3:** 69 n.
Randolph, Jacob, surgeon, **2:** 163 n.
Randolph, John, attorney general of Virginia, **1:** 268, 268 n; **2:** 159 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 271, 272; **2:** 36; Washington visits, **2:** 56, 104, 129, 152, 159.
Randolph, John, of Roanoke, **3:** 67 n.
Randolph, Peyton, **2:** 159 n, 163 n; convenes Burgesses, **2:** 153 n; President of Continental Congress, **2:** 163 n; Washington dines with, **1:** 268, 268 n; Washington visits, **1:** 298, 353, 379, 383; **2:** 17, 26, 39, 56, 57, 85, 86, 104, 128, 131, 151, 152, 159.
Randolph, Richard, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 258.

Randolph, Robert, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 104.
Randolph, Mrs. ——, of Wilton, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 115; Washington visits, **2**: 187.
Ranken, mare, **1**: 159.
Ransom, Joseph, **1**: 166 n, 202, 202 n.
Rappahannock River, Virginia, **2**: 217 n; falls, **1**: 150; **2**: 128, 128 n; ferry and Washington's ferry account, **1**: 202 n; **2**: 84 n; Washington at, **1**: 202 n; 323 n; **4**: 199; Washington's lands on, **2**: 79, 81, 128, 128 n.
Raritan River, New Jersey, **2**: 113.
Ratcliff, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 263.
Rattlesnake, **1**: 12.
Ravensworth, Fairfax County, Virginia, **1**: 110; **3**: 101, 104, 104 n.
Rawdon, Francis, Lord, **2**: 226 n, 227 n, 230.
Rawle, William, **4**: 223, 289 n; Washington at, **4**: 289.
Rawlins, Albin, **4**: 273 n, 307, 320 n; clerk to Washington, **4**: 273.
Rawlins (Rollins), John, of Baltimore, **3**: 107, 108; work on new room at Mount Vernon, **3**: 27, 46, 47, 51; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 75.
Rawlins' tavern, Virginia, Washington at, **3**: 50, 51; **4**: 158.
Rea, James, **4**: 171 n.
Read, George, **4**: 13, 13 n, 101.
Read, Jacob, **4**: 289 n; Washington's letter to, **2**: 290 n; Washington visits, **4**: 289.
Reading, Pennsylvania, **2**: 323; **4**: 218; Washington at, **4**: 210.
Reardon, Daniel, with Washington, **1**: 412.
Recruiting Officer, The, drama, Washington attends, **2**: 5.
Red, Mordecai, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 143, 187.
Red Bank, New Jersey, Hessians repulsed at, **2**: 213 n.
Red berry trees, **2**: 338; **3**: 34.
Red bud trees, **2**: 344, 346; **3**: 34.
Red Lion Inn, Delaware, Washington at, **4**: 149.
Red River, Tennessee, **4**: 80.
Red River Station, **4**: 101.
Red Stone, Pennsylvania, settlement, **1**: 416, 416 n, 417, 418, 421 n, 438, 439; **2**: 374; path to, **1**: 444.
Red Stone Creek, **1**: 77, 77 n, 80, 93, 400, 400 n, 416 n, 441; road to, **1**: 81, 101, 102 n.
Red Stone Fort, Monongahela River, **1**: 416 n; **2**: 282.
Reddick, Edward, colonel, **1**: 189, 189 n, 190 n, 191 n, 194.
Reddick, Henry, **1**: 189.
Reddick, John, **1**: 190.
Reddick, Willis, **1**: 189, 190 n.
Reddick, ——, major, **1**: 296.
Redick, David, **4**: 212, 214, 216.
Redman, John, physician, **3**: 227 n; Washington at, **3**: 227.
Reed, David, tenant, **2**: 296, 297, 298.
Reed, John, tenant, **2**: 296, 298.
Reed, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, **2**: 166 n, 195 n, 199 n; Washington visits, **2**: 166, 195, 199.
Reed, Peter, **1**: 8.
Reed, ——, of North Carolina, Washington at, **4**: 186.
Reed, Miss, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 115, 116.
Reediborts, ——, **2**: 314 n.
Renney, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 397.
Rensselaer, Jeremiah Van, **4**: 111.
Rensselaer, Mrs. Stephen Van, **4**: 56, 56 n.
Rent, collection of Washington's, **2**: 429; of fishing landing, **3**: 28; of Washington's lands, **2**: 339; **3**: 6, 48, 142 n, 143 n.
Repentigny (Riparti), Le Gardeur de, captain, **1**: 58, 58 n, 60.
Revenue, collectors of, **4**: 159, 159 n.
Reynolds, Edward, **3**: 101, 101 n.
Rhode Island, **2**: 261 n; **3**: 121; commissioners to furnish beef to army, **2**: 234 n; convention to ratify U.S. Constitution, **4**: 82; federal census, **4**: 134, 136; federal judiciary nominations, **4**: 135, 135 n; French fleet at, **2**: 224; Judiciary Act extended

to, **4:** 129, ratifies U.S. Constitution, **4:** 129 n; troops, **2:** 255, 256, 257; Washington's circular letter to, **2:** 218 n, 224.
Rhodes, ——, **4:** 290 n.
Rhubarb, **3:** 320.
Rice, Coxe, **1:** 376.
Rice, ——, captain, **3:** 183.
Rice, ——, **4:** 176.
Rice, **4:** 176.
Rich, Henry Pye, **4:** 262 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 262.
Richards, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Richmond, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 98; fox-hunting with Washington, **2:** 98.
Richmond, Virginia, **2:** 186, 224, 232, 322, 323, 333, 371; address to Washington, **4:** 158, 159, 159 n; lots in, won by Washington, **1:** 298; Washington at, **2:** 189, 190, 371; **3:** 50, 51; **4:** 158, 160; Washington's journey to, **2:** 188, 371; **3:** 49, 50.
Richmond Academy, Savannah, **4:** 179 n; ball to Washington, **4:** 179, 179 n.
Richmore, ——, Midshipman, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386.
Ricketts, John Bill, amphitheatre, **4:** 249 n.
Riddell, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 303; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 304.
Riddick, Lemuel, **1:** 189 n.
Riddick, Willis, **1:** 189 n.
Riddle, ——, major, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 281, 310.
Ridgefield, Connecticut, **2:** 231.
Riding, for exercise, **3:** 234, 235; **4:** 14, 15, 18, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 69, 72, 77, 82, 86, 91, 92, 93, 95, 103, 105, 110, 113, 114, 115, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 136, 137, 142, 143; **4:** 247, 248.
Ridout, John, of Annapolis, **2:** 35 n; **3:** 77, 77 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 264, 391; Washington at, **2:** 35, 83, 125.
Ridout, ——, Englishman, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 316.
Riedesel, Friederich Adolph Baron von, **2:** 213, 213 n.
Riedesel, Freiderike Charlotte Luise (von Massow), Madame von, **2:** 213 n.
Rifle, Washington's hunting, **1:** 368, 368 n.
Rights, Bill of, Jefferson's, **2:** 159 n.
Ring, iron, curative power, **1:** 313, 313 n.
Ringgold, Thomas, **2:** 111 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 11; Washington visits, **2:** 111.
Rinker, Jasper, **1:** 400 n; Washington at, **1:** 400, 405, 449, 452.
Riparti, captain. *See* Repentigny, Le Gardeur de.
Ritchie, Matthew, captain, **2:** 298, 298 n, 299.
Ritchie, Richard, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 149, 149 n.
Ritchie, Thomas, **1:** 149 n.
Rivington, James, **2:** 253, 253 n.
River Farms, (River Quarter, Neck Plantations, Clifton's Neck), **1:** 125 n, 128, 129 n, 132, 132 n, 177, 183, 185, 186, 201, 202, 203, 209, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 227, 228, 229, 230, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 250, 251, 252 n, 254, 257, 258, 259, 262, 263, 265, 277, 278, 279, 280, 288, 289, 293, 297, 301, 310, 323, 327, 330, 331, 333, 339, 375, 381, 389, 394, 399; **2:** 23, 24, 27, 31, 32, 72, 73, 76, 81, 83, 85, 160 n, 226, 374, 388, 391, 392, 393, 404, 406, 412, 428, 431, 434, 436, 443, 456, 458, 460; **3:** 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 42, 48, 52, 53, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 83, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114, 116, 117, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 158, 159, 161, 162, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 183, 184, 188, 192, 193, 195, 196, 200, 204, 208, 209, 240, 243, 248, 252, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 266, 268, 270, 271, 273, 275, 278, 280, 281, 282, 284, 287, 298, 301,

304, 307, 309, 312, 314, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 327, 330, 332, 335, 336, 337, 339, 341, 343, 346, 347, 348, 349, 352, 353, 354, 355, 364, 367, 369, 374, 375, 379, 383, 384, 385, 388, 390, 392, 393, 396, 400, 401, 402, 407, 409, 415, 416, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 424, 428, 435, 436, 438, 443, 447, 451; **4:** 5; gunning in, **2:** 89, how formed, **1:** 245 n; fox hunting in, **1:** 283, 299, 302, 308, 362, 363, 365; **2:** 37, 45, 46, 49, 50, 75, 89, 101; **3:** 5; overseer, **2:** 405, 457; **3:** 41, 453; land exchanged, **2:** 339; slaves' names, **3:** 18; surveys, **2:** 38, 51, 67, 72, 74, 77, 81, 83, 98; **3:** 5, 8, 15, 23, 167; timber landing field, **3:** 146, 169; Washington at, **1:** 245, 266, 271, 272, 277, 278, 291, 294, 295, 299, 300, 302, 307, 312, 318, 322, 326, 328, 329, 330, 333, 334, 336, 346, 349, 362, 371, 385; **2:** 13, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 63, 65, 67, 70, 72, 74, 77, 81, 83, 98, 99, 100, 101, 105, 106, 108, 110, 116, 117, 119, 122, 133, 138, 141, 146; **2:** 155, 157, 160, 161, 184, 190, 333, 338, 347, 359, 374, 379, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 404, 409, 412, 418, 428, 461; **3:** 5, 8, 12, 15, 23, 28, 29, 32, 36, 41, 43, 46, 53, 59, 60, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 86, 87, 88, 90, 95, 101, 109, 112, 114, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 126, 127, 129, 131, 135, 138, 147, 148, 169, 173, 184, 212, 240, 247, 255, 258, 264, 270, 273, 299, 301, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 324, 355, 404, 418; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **2:** 117.

Road, Maryland and Virginia to the west, **3:** 84.

Roads, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 254, 257, 258; **3:** 265, 446; **4:** 3.

Roads, public, Washington's hands work on, **3:** 107, 137, 444.

Roan, John, **1:** 167 n, 168 n, 170, 171.

Roanoke, Virginia, **4:** 163.

Roanoke River, Virginia, **2:** 282, 315, 316; **4:** 162; Washington crosses, **4:** 162 n.

Roberdeau, Daniel, brigadier general, **2:** 379, 379 n, 381 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 381.

Roberdeau, Mrs. Daniel, **2:** 168 n; Washington visits, **2:** 168.

Roberdeau, Isaac, **2:** 381 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 381.

Roberts, Abner, **1:** 276 n.

Roberts, Eliab, **1:** 276 n, 280, 333.

Roberts, Miss —— **1:** 23, 23 n.

Robert's Ordinary, Dismal Swamp, **1:** 194.

Robertson, John, **3:** 126, 126 n, 155, 175, 176; agreement for French's plantation, **3:** 129.

Robinson, Andrew, **1:** 371 n.

Robinson, John, speaker, 189 n, 296 n, 298 n.

Robinson, Michael, **2:** 114 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 114, 115.

Robinson, ——, **3:** 110, 114.

Robinson, ——, captain, **1:** 23.

Robinson family, of the Rappahannock, **1:** 309 n.

Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeure, Comte de, lieutenant general and commander in chief, French army in America, **2:** 210, 210 n, 212, 213, 217, 218, 221, 224, 230, 231, 237, 240, 241, 243, 247, 247 n, 254, 258, 259; **4:** 20, 274; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 260 n, conference with Washington, **2:** 213, 217, 218 n, 240, 247, 260; letters from, **2:** 213, 213 n, 221, 221 n, 224, 228, 228 n, 229, 229 n; letter to, **3:** 221 n; travels with Washington to Virginia, **2:** 259.

Rochambeau, Donatien Marie Joseph de Vimeure, Vicomte de, adjutant general, **2:** 213 n; arrival in America, **2:** 213.

Rock Hall, Maryland, Washington at, **2:** 111, 162, 169; **4:** 150.

Rockahock, Pamunky River, **2:** 18 n; Washington at, **2:** 18, 86.

Rockingham County, Virginia, **2:** 314, 314 n.

Rockingham Court House, Virginia, **2:** 314.

Rockville, Maryland, **4:** 201 n.

Rodebush, ——, **2:** 314 n.

Rodney, George Brydges, vice admiral, **2**: 252, 252 n; 254, 260 n.
Roe, Cornelius McDermott, **3**: 7, 9, 135, 280, 304, 304 n, 367, 367 n.
Roe, Nathaniel, captain, **4**: 118 n; Washington at, **4**: 118, 119.
Rogers, colonel, **3**: 110 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 109, 110.
Rogers, William, **2**: 194 n; Washington at, **2**: 194.
Rogers, ——, of Baltimore, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 277.
Rogers, ——, colonel, Havre de Grasse, Washington at, **3**: 238.
Rogers, Mrs. ——, Susquehanna River, Washington at, **4**: 229, 239, 242.
Rogers, ——, of New York, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 314.
Rogers, ——, **4**: 281.
Rogers, ——, Washington at, **3**: 346.
Rogers, ——, Indian trader, **1**: 420.
Rollins, John. *See* Rawlins.
Rollins (Rawlins?), Richard, **1**: 254, 254 n.
Rollins, ——, of Bladensburg, **2**: 125 n; Washington at, **2**: 125.
Roman Catholic church, Washington attends, **2**: 167.
Romney, Hampshire County, Virginia, **2**: 312, 312 n, 313; Washington at, **1**: 401, 401 n, 406.
Roof, Mount Vernon, shingling, **2**: 418, 419, 420.
Roosevelt, Isaac, **4**: 111 n.
Roosevelt, Mrs. Isaac, funeral, **4**: 52, 52 n.
Root, Jesse, colonel, **4**: 27, 27 n.
Root's, ——, New Kent County, Washington at, **2**: 18.
Roote, John, Washington at, **1**: 267, 268.
Roper's Tavern, Leesburg, Virginia, **2**: 279 n; Washington at, **2**: 279.
Rose Hill, near Alexandria, **1**: 154 n.
Rose, guilder, **2**: 354, 355, 375.
Ross, Alexander, physician, **1**: 117, 117 n.
Ross, Alexander, major, **2**: 269, 269 n.
Ross, Alexander, of Pittsburg, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 25.
Ross, Alexander, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 183.
Ross, Hector, physician, **1**: 393; **2**: 5, 12; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 149, 149 n, 349 n, 366, 378, 453; **2**: 38, 157.
Ross, James, **4**: 209 n.
Ross, John, **2**: 164 n; Washington visits, **2**: 164, 219, 224.
Ross, ——, **1**: 301, 302, 331.
Ross, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 321.
Ross & Co., **2**: 5, 12.
Rosseau, Jean, **4**: 263 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 263.
Roudebush, ——, **2**: 314 n.
Round Hill, Fairfax County, **1**: 142 n.
Rousby, Elizabeth, **3**: 419 n.
Rousby, John, of Maryland, **2**: 358 n; **3**: 419 n.
Roy, Boswell, Ordinary, Bolling Green, Virginia, **2**: 151 n; Washington, at, **2**: 151, 155 n, 158, 159, 189, 190.
Royal Auvergne Regiment, **2**: 259 n.
Royal Deux Ponts Regiment, **2**: 257, 257 n.
Royal Gazette, New York, **2**: 253 n.
Royal Gift, jackass, **3**: 321 n.
Royal Irish Regiment of Foot, British Army, **1**: 410.
Rozer (Rozier), ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 113, 355.
Rozier, Henry, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 312, 319.
Rozier, Notley, **2**: 142 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 142.
Rudibort, ——, Rockingham County, Virginia, **2**: 314 n; Washington at, **2**: 314.
Ruffin's Ferry, Virginia, Washington at, **1**: 324 n, 379, 379 n; **2**: 16, 16 n, 56 n, 60 n, 151.
Ruffin's Ordinary, Virginia, Washington at, **1**: 351; **2**: 26, 39, 103 n; **2**: 158.
Rum, **2**: 407, 451; allowed workman, **3**: 63.
Rumney, John, **2**: 374; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 123.
Rumney, William, physician, **1**: 245, 253, 256, 257, 259, 272, 274, 276, 277, 283, 295, 298, 302, 307, 309, 310, 311, 313, 322, 326, 328, 330, 350, 365, 373,

374, 393, 397, 398, 399, 450, 453; **2:** 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 25, 31, 37, 38, 43, 49, 50, 62, 63, 67, 74, 77, 91, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 107, 110, 115 n, 117, 119, 132, 139, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, 155, 156, 158, 160, 169, 174, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 191, 192; **3:** 128, 187, 282, 367; fishing with Washington, **2:** 74; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 313; **3:** 283; illness, **1:** 398.
Rumsey, James, inventor, **2:** 395, 396; mechanical boat, **2:** 282, 282 n, 327, 328; inventor of steam boat, **2:** 282; certificate from Washington, **2:** 282 n; builds Washington's houses at Warm Springs, **2:** 283.
Rumsey, James, manager of Potomac Company's works, **2:** 391, 397, 400, 401, 402, 424; **3:** 75, 85, 122; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 11; Washington at, **3:** 85.
Rumsey, William, **2:** 391 n.
Runkel Recbar (Root of Scarcity), **3:** 322.
Rush, Benjamin, **2:** 168 n; **3:** 229 n; Washington visits, **2:** 168; **3:** 229.
Russ, ——, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 168.
Russell, George, tenant, **1:** 278, 278 n.
Russell, Thomas, **4:** 36, 36 n.
Russell, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 264.
Russels, ——, Georgia, Washington at, **4:** 178.
Russia, **2:** 220.
Rust, in wheat, **2:** 24, 31, 31 n.
Ruston, Thomas, physician, **3:** 225 n, 269, 270; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 299; Washington visits, **3:** 225.
Rutherford, Robert, **2:** 6 n, 302; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 6, 24, 37, 139, 140, 184, 186, 192.
Rutherford, Thomas, **2:** 141 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 141, 142.
Rutledge, Edward, **4:** 169 n, 171; Washington at, **4:** 169.
Rutledge, John, governor, **2:** 197 n, 224 n; **3:** 217, 217 n, 218, 221 n; **4:** 169 n; at headquarters, **2:** 224; Washington visits, **2:** 197.
Rutledge, Mrs. John, Washington visits, **4:** 172.
Rutledge, John, Jr., **3:** 221 n.
Rutlidge's, James, Washington at, **1:** 8.
Ryan, Thomas, **3:** 70.
Ryan's Glade, Maryland, Washington at, **2:** 309.
Rye, Westchester, N.Y., **4:** 21 n; Washington at, **4:** 21.
Rye, **1:** 185, 186, 187; **2:** 412; **3:** 70, 71, 72, 82, 87, 88, 90, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 109, 112, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 125, 127, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 144, 146, 147, 166, 179, 184, 191, 195, 209, 239, 240, 241, 242, 363, 364, 369, 370, 371, 373, 376; harvest, **1:** 185, 186; **3:** 146, 376, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385; speck, **3:** 372, 373; treading or threshing, **3:** 117, 135, 146, 173, 418, 420, 421, 423, 441, 448, 449; wild, **3:** 318.
Ryerson, ——, **4:** 103.

S

Sackett, William, captain, **2:** 231, 231 n.
Sage, Comfort, general, **4:** 26, 26 n.
Sage, ——, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 166.
St. Augustine, Florida, **2:** 230.
St. Clair, Arthur, major general, **2:** 219 n, 271; **4:** 15 n; Indian expedition, **4:** 140 n, 144 n, 155 n; instructions to, **4:** 15; letters from, **2:** 219; **4:** 94, 94 n.
St. Germain pears, **2:** 342.
St. John's College, Annapolis, Washington at, **4:** 152.
St. Lawrence River, **2:** 319, 320.
St. Marys, Florida, **4:** 181.
St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, **2:** 167 n; **3:** 219 n; Washington at, **2:** 167; **3:** 219.
St. Michael's Church, Charleston, Washington at, **4:** 174, 174 n.
Saint-Miasme, Jean Baptiste Louis

Philippe de Felix d'Olières, Comte de, colonel, **2**: 242 n.
St. Paul's, New York City, Washington at, **4**: 14, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 65, 68, 73, 83, 86, 92, 93, 102, 106, 110, 136; Independence Day oration at, **4**: 136.
St. Paul's Church, Westmoreland County, Washington at, **1**: 270.
St. Peters, New Kent County, Washington at, **2**: 18 n.
St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, **2**: 165 n; Washington at, **2**: 165.
St. Philip's Church, Charleston, Washington at, **4**: 174, 174 n.
St. Pierre, Le Gardeur de, French commandant, **1**: 58, 58 n; reply to Dinwiddie, **1**: 61 n.
Saint-Simon, Montbléru, colonel, **2**: 264.
St. Tammany. *See* Sons of St. Tammany.
Saint Tries, —— de, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 446.
St. Vincent. *See* Vincennes.
Salem, Massachusetts, address to Washington, **4**: 40, 40 n; Beverly bridge, **4**: 41; Washington at, **4**: 40, 41.
Salem, North Carolina, old tavern, **4**: 187; Washington at, **4**: 186.
Salisbury, Massachusetts, ladies, **4**: 45; Washington at, **4**: 42.
Salisbury, North Carolina, Washington at, **4**: 186.
Salmon fish, **4**: 211.
Salt, measuring, **1**: 330; **2**: 289, 407, 408; for curing fish, **3**: 28, 29; purchased from Bermuda, **1**: 333 n; sown, **1**: 351.
Salt Lick Creek, West Virginia, **1**: 445 n.
Samples, Samuel, Pittsburg, Washington's dinner to British officers at, **1**: 447, 447 n, 452.
Sampton Creek, South Carolina, **4**: 170.
Sand, **1**: 380.
Sand box tree, **2**: 383, 391.
Sanders, ——, **2**: 419, 420; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 418.
Sanderson, Robert, **3**: 60 n, 69; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 60.
Sanderson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 382, 422, 455; **3**: 70.
Sandford, Robert, **1**: 292 n.
Sandusky, Ohio, **2**: 319.
Sandy Creek, West Virginia, **2**: 284, 285, 304, 306, 310.
Sandy Creek Glades, Cheat River, **2**: 281, 303.
Sandy Hook, New York, **2**: 216, 222, 257, 260; lighthouse ceded to United States, **4**: 112.
Sanford, Lawrence, captain, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 398.
Sanford, ——, **3**: 119.
San Jago, Cape Verde Islands, letter to Governor, **4**: 93.
Santee Creek, South Carolina, Washington crosses, **4**: 170.
Santee River, South Carolina, Washington crosses, **4**: 170.
Sappers and Miners, **2**: 242, 257.
Sarah, ship, Washington's tobacco shipped in, **1**: 167 n.
Saratoga, New York, **2**: 230, 230 n.
Saratoga Convention (Burgoyne's surrender), **2**: 268 n.
Sargent, John, **1**: 405 n.
Sartell, ——, lieutenant, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 386.
Sassafras trees, **2**: 335, 344, 346.
Saunders, John, captain, **1**: 26, 27; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 191.
Savage, Edward, portrait of Washington, **4**: 60, 60 n, 61, 66, 112, 112 n.
Savage, George, of Northampton County, Virginia, **3**: 11.
Savage, John, lieutenant, **1**: 400, 400 n.
Savage, ——, physician, **2**: 53.
Savage, British sloop of war, **2**: 236, 240.
Savage River, Pennsylvania, **2**: 287, 311; road, **3**: 84.
Savannah, Georgia, **2**: 245; **4**: 174; assault on (1779), **4**: 177; barge for Washington, **4**: 176; siege of, **2**:

259 n; Washington at, **4**: 176, 177, 178.
Saw Mill River, New York, **2**: 251; road, **2**: 242, 242 n.
Scalp (Sculp) Creek, West Virginia, **1**: 416 n. *See also* Buffalo Creek, *also* Fox Grape Vine Creek.
Scammell, Alexander, colonel, **2**: 214, 214 n, 231, 252, 255.
Scantling, **1**: 124; **3**: 339, 342.
Scarcity Root (Mangel Wurzel), **3**: 335, 350, 354, 358, 360, 427, 439. *See also* Runkel Recbar.
Schade, Christopher, **1**: 455.
Schaick, Goose (Gozen), colonel, **2**: 219, 223.
Schenectady, New York, **2**: 324.
School, on Washington's land, Berkeley County, **3**: 22.
Schoolhouse, Mount Vernon, **2**: 341, 341 n; **3**: 137.
School books, for Master Custis, **1**: 336 n.
Schooner, Washington's, **1**: 227, 237, 261, 263, 293, 331; building, **1**: 214, 215; caulking, **1**: 263; Washington on, **1**: 285, 290; work on, **1**: 380 n.
Schureman, James, **4**: 82, 124, 124 n, 140.
Schuyler, Philip, major general, **2**: 246, 248; **4**: 56, 56 n, 82, 94, 109, 133; interview with Washington, **2**: 229, letters from, **2**: 216, 216 n, 219, 219 n; 223; theater tickets sent to, **4**: 55; Washington visits, **4**: 55.
Schuylkill River, Pennylvania, **2**: 323.
Sciagusta, Indian prisoner, **1**: 376, 376 n.
Scions, **2**: 349, 349 n.
Scioto River, Ohio, **1**: 445, 445 n; **2**: 318.
Scotch emigrants to America, **2**: 122.
Scott, Charles, brigadier general, **4**: 140 n, 141, 157.
Scott, Gustavus, **3**: 449 n; **4**: 235 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 449.
Scott, James, **2**: 294, 297, 298.
Scott, James, clergyman, **2**: 64 n, 338.
Scott, Robert, **1**: 329 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 329.
Scott, Robert, **2**: 460.
Scott, Thomas, **4**: 67, 67 n, 73.
Scott, Upton, **2**: 52 n.
Scott, William, Fairfax County, Virginia, Washington at, **3**: 11.
Scott, William, Palmer, Massachusetts, **4**: 30 n; Washington at, **4**: 30.
Scott, William, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 338, 339, 427.
Scott, **4**: 113, 129.
Scott, ——, of Maryland, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 22.
Scott, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 337.
Scott, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 42, 43, 44, 64.
Scouts, authorized in Indian country, **4**: 114.
Scow, borrowed, **2**: 431.
Scratchfield, Samuel, **2**: 280 n.
Scruneyattha, Indian chief, 75, 75 n, 79.
Scudder, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 260.
Scull, Nicholas, **2**: 323 n.
Scull, William, map of Pennsylvania, **2**: 323, 323 n.
Sculp Creek. *See* Buffalo Creek, *also* Scalp Creek, *also* Fox Grape Vine Creek.
Seabury, Samuel, clergyman, **2**: 421 n.
Seagroves, James, **4**: 181.
Searson, John, **4**: 304 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 304.
Sebastian, Benjamin, clergyman, **1**: 342 n, 350 n; dines with Washington, **1**: 342; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 350.
Secret Intelligence, **2**: 208, 208 n, 209.
Sedgwick, Theodore, **4**: 82.
Sedgwick, Thomas, **4**: 111, 111 n.
Seed, **1**: 141, 141 n, 142; **2**: 378, 393; **3**: 159; English, **1**: 186, 187; **3**: 327; weights, acreage, etc., **3**: 161. *See also* the references under the various plants, grass, etc.
Seeds of Sulla, **3**: 322, 335.
Sein fishing, **1**: 285, 286; **2**: 18, 109; **3**: 37, 59, 60, 342. *See also* Fishing.
Sein landing, Mount Vernon, **1**: 186, 212; **2**: 334, 347, 357.
Selden, Cary, colonel, **3**: 341 n.

Selden, Mary, **3**: 341 n.
Seldon, Samuel, **1**: 113 n; Washington visits, **1**: 113, 272.
Seldon, ——, **1**: 272.
Semple, John, **1**: 363 n; **2**: 46, 46 n, 52, 53; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 363, 378, 388; dispute with Ross, **1**: 394; **2**: 5, 12; scheme to improve the Potomac, **1**: 363 n.
Semple (Sample), Samuel, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 453; Washington at, **1**: 410.
Senate, United States, **4**: 126; powers as to diplomatic service, **4**: 122; reply to President's message, **4**: 69, 70, 70 n.
Senators, **4**: 128.
Seneca Falls, Potomac River, **2**: 394, 395, 395 n, 398, 403, 415; **3**: 83, 265, 360, 361, 448; navigation through, **2**: 395; Washington at, **2**: 402, 403, 414, 415; **3**: 84, 361; Washington passes down, **2**: 415.
Seneca Indians. *See* Indians.
Seney, Joshua, **4**: 66 n, 71, 105.
Senff, Christian, colonel, **3**: 74 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 74, 75.
Serpentine Road (or Walks), Mount Vernon, **2**: 13, 343, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 360, 390, 431, 433; **3**: 29, 31, 37, 440; laid out, **2**: 334 n, 336 n.
Servants (Indentured), **2**: 183 n; **3**: 70; purchased by Washington, **2**: 183.
Service tree, **2**: 367.
Setauket, Long Island, **4**: 118 n, 119; Washington at, **4**: 118.
Seulf Creek. *See* Sewell Creek.
Severn River, Maryland, Washington at, **4**: 150.
Sevier, John, **4**: 140, 140 n.
Sewell (Seulf) Creek, Virginia, **1**: 415.
Sewicky (Sweisly) Creek, Pennsylvania, **1**: 409 n; Washington at, **1**: 409.
Shad, **2**: 62 n, 70 n, 357; **3**: 38, 41, 47, 319, 320.
Shade, Christopher, **2**: 46.
Shades of Death, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, **2**: 288 n; Washington at, **2**: 288.
Shanapins, Indian town, **1**: 46, 46 n, 60, 65.
Shannondale, **1**: 138 n.
Sharpe, Horatio, governor, **1**: 77; **3**: 77 n; Washington visits, **2**: 107.
Shawna River. *See* Cumberland River.
Shawnee (Shawanoe) Old Town, Great Kanhawa, **1**: 404 n, 427, 443 n; Washington near, **1**: 404.
Shawnese Indians. *See* Indians.
Shaw, John, of Norfolk, **3**: 50.
Shaw, Samuel, major, **4**: 86, 86 n.
Shaw, William, of Alexandria, **2**: 43, 70, 70 n.
Shaw, William, secretary, **2**: 387, 387 n, 394, 406, 407, 410, 412, 419, 426, 427, 430, 433, 442, 445, 450, 454, 457, 458, 461, **3**: 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 23, 31, 34, 68, 70, 71, 73, 78, 80, 81, 82, 87; arranges schooling for Washington's nephews, **2**: 446; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 102, 393, 420; **3**: 108; fox hunting with Washington, **2**: 452, 455, 459; leaves for West Indies, **3**: 108; services terminated, **3**: 105, 105 n.
Shaylor, Joseph, lieutenant, **2**: 236, 236 n.
Shedden, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 286.
Sheep, **1**: 127, 183, 184, 187, 209, 213, 229, 263, 301, 404, 437, 440, 441, 444, 447, 450; **3**: 60, 64, 68, 101, 121, 193, 210, 363, 402, 413, 414, 425; number of, **3**: 246, 250, 252, 253, 403; shearing, **1**: 164, 229, 237; **3**: 70, 72, 364; sold, **3**: 77; weight, **1**: 314.
Sheepshead, fish, **1**: 285.
Shelby, Isaac, colonel, **4**: 140 n.
Sheldon, Elisha, colonel, **2**: 231, 231 n, 236, 236 n, 241, 242.
Shenandoah Ferry, **1**: 4 n.
Shenandoah Hunting Path, **1**: 4 n, 12 n.
Shenandoah River, Virginia, **1**: 5; **2**: 314, 315, 318, 394; Washington on, **1**: 4; **2**: 314; falls, **2**: 401, 403; **3**: 265, 297, 360, 361; Washington at, **3**: 360, 361.

Shenandoah Valley, road via Sniekers' Gap, **2**: 210 n.
Shepard, William, major general, **4**: 29, 29 n.
Shepherd, William, letter to enemy intercepted, **2**: 223.
Shepherd, ——, captain, **2**: 402.
Shepherd's Tavern, Difficult Bridge, Virginia, Washington at, **2**: 279.
Sheplar, Henry, **1**: 10.
Shepperd (Shepherd), David, colonel, **2**: 282, 402.
Sherburne, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4**: 48.
Sheridan, Patrick, **3**: 140, 147.
Sheridine, John, **1**: 255, 255 n, 167 n.
Sheridine, Mary, **1**: 167 n.
Sheridine's Point, Potomac River, **1**: 396 n; **2**: 69 n, 109; **3**: 5, 62; Washington at, **1**: 396; **2**: 110; Washington fishing off, **1**: 396.
Sheridine, Mrs. ——, **1**: 333.
Sherman, Roger, Signer, **4**: 24, 24 n, 25 n, 72, 105; Washington at, **4**: 25.
Shine (or Shrine), John, North Carolina, **4**: 166 n; Washington at, **4**: 166.
Shingas (Shingiss), Delaware Indian chief, **1**: 44, 44 n, 45, 51, 53, 56 n, 99, 100.
Shingles, **1**: 124, 189 n, 293; purchased, **1**: 134, 157, 411.
Shingling, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 418, 419, 429.
Ship landing, Mount Vernon, **1**: 184; York plantation, **1**: 172.
Ship tavern, Pennsylvania, **2**: 114 n; Washington at, **2**: 114.
Shippen, Edward Jr., **2**: 165 n; Washington visits, **2**: 165, 195.
Shippen, Joseph, **2**: 197 n; Washington, visits, **2**: 197.
Shippen, Margaret (Peggy), **2**: 165 n.
Shippen, William, physician, **2**: 165 n; **3**: 224 n; Washington at, **2**: 162, 163, 165; **3**: 224.
Shippen, William, Jr., physician, **2**: 166 n; Washington at, **2**: 166.
Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, **4**: 219; Washington at, **4**: 218.
Shipping, for transporting army, **2**: 258, 259, 259 n.
Shirley, William, governor, **1**: 81, 81 n.
Shirley, James River, **2**: 130 n, 246; Washington at, **2**: 130.
Shirtees Creek. *See* Chartier's.
Shoemaker, **3**: 7, 27, 70.
Shoe manufactory, Lynn, **3**: 40.
Shoes, **3**: 75; for the family at Mount Vernon, **1**: 273 n.
Shooter's Hill. *See* Shuter's Hill.
Shooting. *See* Gunning.
Short, William, **4**: 107 n, 117, 124 n; instructions as to Algerine captives, **4**: 107; letter of credence, **4**: 113.
Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, **4**: 33.
Shrine, John. *See* Shine.
Shrubberies, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 360, 375, 423, 424, 433, 444, 454; **3**: 10, 14, 34, 35, 37, 53, 57, 83, 320.
Shrubs, Mount Vernon, **2**: 338, 341; **3**: 53.
Shuter's (Shooter's) Hill, Alexandria, **2**: 70; Washington at, **4**: 259.
Sign of the Bull tavern, Pennsylvania, Washington at, **2**: 114.
Sign of the Ship tavern, Wilmington, **3**: 215 n.
Silk manufactory, **4**: 26, 26 n, 50.
Simcoe, John Graves, colonel, **2**: 34 n, 251 n.
Simmonds, ——, South Hempstead, Washington at, **4**: 117.
Simms, Charles, colonel, **2**: 364, 364 n; **3**: 100 n, 119; **4**: 309; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 100, 115, 117, 214, 239, 272, 439; **4**: 279, 281, 283; elected to Virginia Convention, **3**: 312.
Simms, ——, **3**: 383.
Simons, ——, major, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 285.
Simpson, Gilbert, **2**: 69, 69 n, 98, 287, 290 n, 291, 292, 292 n, 293, 300; **3**: 106; account with Washington, **2**: 293 n; builds Washington's mill, **2**: 291 n; co-partner of Washington's Ohio land, **2**: 279, 293; money sent to Ohio by, **2**: 122 n; Washington's negroes hired to, **3**: 58; Washington

sells land at, **2**: 292 n; Washington visits, **2**: 289, 291, 293, 298.
Simpson, Gilbert, **1**: 167 n.
Simpson, Samuel, captain, **4**: 165, 165 n.
Simpson, ——, **3**: 173; Washington at, **3**: 166.
Simson, James, **1**: 10.
Sing Sing (Ossining), New York, **2**: 255, 255 n.
Singleton, Anthony, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 115.
Sinnickson, Thomas, **4**: 87, 87 n, 113, 129.
Sitgreaves, John, **2**: 379 n; **4**: 164 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 379 n.
Six Nations Indians. *See* Indians.
Skerrett's Tavern, Maryland, Washington at, **3**: 215, 238.
Skillings, William, **2**: 372–73.
Skinner, Alexander, physician, **2**: 430 n; **3**: 453; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 430, 431.
Slade, ——, of Pennsylvania, Washington at, **2**: 114.
Slaughter, Mrs. Ann, **2**: 133 n, 161 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 133, 138, 141, 143, 161, 188, 191.
Slaughter, Philip, History of Truro Parish, **1**: 291 n.
Slaughter, ——, North Carolina, Washington at, **4**: 163.
Slavery, emancipation, **4**: 103, 104; Washington's opinion, **2**: 379 n; Washington declines, as President, to commit himself, **4**: 104.
Slaves, carried off by British, **2**: 411; **4**: 132; run away into Spanish territory, **4**: 103 n, 180, 184.
Slaves, Washington's (Negroes, Servants), **1**: 111, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 133, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143, 148, 152, 154, 159, 161, 162, 171, 172, 185, 203, 251, 330 n, 333, 399, 401, 406; **2**: 72, 76, 81, 406, 411; **3**: 58, 65, 77, 86, 147, 171, 173, 174, 175, 202, 241, 312, 376, 431, 458; **3**: 15, 151; accidents to, **2**: 366; **3**: 141, 308, 443, allowed to go to races, **3**: 124; brought to Mount Vernon by George A. Washington, **3**: 160; blacksmith, **1**: 140, 140 n; bricklayers and makers, **3**: 329, 356, 357; carpenters, **1**: 111, 122; **3**: 149, 151, 287; clothing, **2**: 445; **1**: 118, 159 n; **3**: 68, 69; dower, **3**: 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; house, **3**: 15, 382, 383; medical attention, **2**: 379; **3**: 15, 24, 68, 69, 98, 116, 143, 147, 149, 219, 289, 440; **4**: 262, 262 n, 287, 318, 443; mill hands, **3**: 382; names listed, 3, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; opinion on crop, **3**: 61; purchased, **1**: 278, 383; runaway, **1**: 155, 155 n; **2**: 28; spinners, **3**: 300, 382; sick, 177, 401, 401 n, 405, 406; **2**: 55, 184; **3**: 168, 406, 407, 416; Washington visits sick, **2**: 184; sent as settlers to Washington's Ohio lands, **2**: 146, 146 n; sold, **1**: 235; on the Youghiogheny, **3**: 58.
Sleepy Creek, Virginia, Washington at, **1**: 341.
Sleight-of-hand performance, Washington attends, **1**: 345.
Small (Short), ——, **4**: 304; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 304.
Smallpox, **1**: 14; deaths, **1**: 159; outbreak in Frederick, **1**: 157; on Washington's plantation in Frederick, **1**: 160.
Smallwood, William, brigadier general, **3**: 131 n, 132; Washington at, **3**: 131, 132.
Smith, Augustine, clergyman, **1**: 269, 269 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 321, 322.
Smith, Augustine J., **4**: 275 n.
Smith, Benjamin, governor, **4**: 168 n; Washington at, **4**: 168.
Smith, Charles, major, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 140.
Smith, Charles, lieutenant, **1**: 144, 144 n.
Smith, Daniel, colonel, **4**: 78 n; letter from, **4**: 78.
Smith, Edward, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 386, 387.
Smith, Huie, Alexander & Co., **4**: 261 n.
Smith, John, colonel, North Carolina, Washington at, **4**: 185.

Smith, John, of Westmoreland, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 25, 30, 38.
Smith, John, Cabin Point, Washington at, **2**: 19.
Smith, John, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 89.
Smith, John, **1**: 286, 286 n.
Smith, Lewis, **1**: 168.
Smith, O'Brien, **4**: 175 n; Washington, **4**: 175.
Smith, Patrick, physician, letter to enemy intercepted, **2**: 223.
Smith, Philip, of Westmoreland County, **2**. 174 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 174.
Smith, Samuel, brigadier general, **2**: 338 n; **4**: 220, 220 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 338.
Smith, Thomas, agent for Washington's Pennsylvania lands, **2**: 166 n, 293 n, 299 n; **3**: 106 n; letter, **3**: 57; suits for Washington, **2**· 299, **3**: 106; Washington visits, **2**: 166, 167.
Smith, Thomas, clergyman, **1**: 285, 286 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 366.
Smith, Thomas, **1**: 127, 127 n.
Smith, Thomas, 167 n.
Smith, William, of Maryland, **4**: 72, 124.
Smith, William, of South Carolina, **4**: 55, 55 n, 82, 104, 105.
Smith, William, clergyman, **2**: 166.
Smith, William, **4**: 52, 52 n, 140.
Smith, William Stephens, **2**: 411 n; **4**: 17, 17 n, 19, 53, 57, 58, 62, 84 n, 85, 85 n, 109, 115.
Smith, Mrs. William Stephens (Abigail Adams), **4**: 19.
Smith, ——, of the New Tavern, Philadelphia, **2**: 163 n.
Smith, ——, clergyman, Washington visits, **2**: 19.
Smith, ——, captain, Potomac River, ferry, **2**: 402; Washington at, **2**: 402.
Smith, ——, boat builder, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 158.
Smith, ——, manager, Potomac Company's work, **3**: 85, 360, 361, 362.
Smith, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 77.
Smith, ——, physician, **2**: 459.
Smith, ——, of Portsmouth, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 305.
Smith, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 108.
Smith, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 262.
Smith, ——, widow, **2**: 314.
Smith, Miss ——, **4**: 53, 53 n, 141.
Smith & Douglas, of Alexandria, herring agreement, **3**: 38.
Smithfield, Virginia, **1**: 297 n; Washington at, **1**: 297.
Smith's Town, Long Island, Washington at, **4**: 119.
Smoke tree. *See* Fringe tree.
Snell, ——, Virginia, Washington at, **2**: 312.
Snickers, Edward, captain, **1**: 339 n; **2**: 172 n; millstones from, **1**: 399, 399 n; Washington at, **1**: 339, 344 n, 399 n, 450; **2**: 10, 65 n, 66, 144, 172 n.
Snickers, ——, **3**: 124, 124 n.
Snickers' Gap, Blue Ridge Mountain, **1**: 12 n, 339 n, 340 n, 400 n; **2**: 10 n; **3**: 362 n.
Snodgrass, James, Washington at, **2**: 282.
Snow, Gideon, tutor, **3**: 183 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 183.
Snow, ——, of Massachusetts, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 272.
Snow, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 117, 288, 449.
Snow, **1**: 413, 421, 449; **2**: 339, 345, 348; **3**: 7, 26; **4**: 4; in April, **3**: 36; damages trees, etc., **3**: 347; deep, **2**: 52, 53, 54; grass seed sown on, **3**: 165, 166, 303.
Snowden, John, major, **3**: 398.
Snowden, Thomas, major, **3**: 215 n; Washington visits, **3**: 215, 238.
Soal, Joseph, **1**: 362, 362 n.
Soderstrom, Richard, Swedish consul, **2**: 418 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 418.
Soissonnais regiment, French army, **2**: 242, 242 n.
Solleysells, Jacques de, **1**: 129–30.
Somerset Court House, New Jersey, **2**: 257, 257 n, 258 n.
Sons of St. Tammany, Richmond, **2**: 371; Washington dines with, **2**: 371.

Sorrel Horse Tavern, Pennsylvania, **2:** 114 n; Washington at, **2:** 114.
Sothern's ferry, Rappahannock River, Washington at, **1:** 156, 156 n.
South (Southern States), affairs, **2:** 224; transfer of war to, **2:** 218, 240, 249; Washington's tour through, **4:** 16, 149–204; Washington's comment on the country, **4:** 193.
South Anna River, Virginia, **2:** 226 n.
South Branch Mountain, Virginia, **2:** 314.
South Carolina, **1:** 50, 50 n; **2:** 226, 245; adopts amendments to U.S. Constitution, **4:** 111, 111 n; in Constitutional Convention, **3:** 217; Washington's comments on the country, **4:** 169, 171, 172, 182, 183, 185.
South Hempstead, Long Island, **4:** 117; Washington at, **4:** 117.
South Mountain, Maryland, **4:** 219.
South Potomac, District, custom house, **1:** 256 n.
South River, Maryland, Washington at, **2:** 82 n, 83 n, 169 n; **4:** 152.
South River, North Carolina, **1:** 193, 194.
Southall, James Barret (Raleigh tavern, Williamsburg, Virginia), **2:** 151 n; Virginia Council at, **2:** 153; Washington at, **1:** 355; **2:** 17, 26, 57, 58, 59, 85, 86, 129, 131, 132, 132 n, 151, 152, 153; Washington's expenses at, **2:** 132 n. *See also* Raleigh tavern.
Southward, Benjamin, **1:** 211.
Southwark Theater, Philadelphia, **3:** 227 n.
Spaight, Richard Dobbs, **2:** 386 n, 408, 410, 451; **3:** 380, 382, 435; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 386.
Spain, alliance with, **4:** 132; alliance of U.S. and Great Britain against, **4:** 138, 139; attitude toward Americans southwest of the Ohio, **4:** 88, 89; colonies on U.S. frontier, **2:** 326; commercial treaty, **4:** 108; and Kentucky, **4:** 74, 75; rank of U.S. minister, **4:** 109; runaway slave question, **4:** 181; terms with Creeks, **4:** 54.
Spain, King of, **2:** 458 n; sends jackasses to Washington, **2:** 428, 428 n; **3:** 138 n.
Sparks, Jared, **1:** 17 n, 22 n, 211 n; **4:** 295.
Spelts, **1:** 188, 201, 203, 216; **3:** 136, 137, 195, 272; black, **3:** 132, 271.
Spence, William, physician, **3:** 408, 408 n.
Spencer, Nicholas, patent, **1:** 320 n; Washington surveys boundaries of tract, **1:** 372.
Spencer's and Washington's Patent, **2:** 344; Washington's survey of, **1:** 320.
Spencer, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 31.
Spencer's, ——, Washington at, **4:** 178.
Spiltdorph, Carolus Gustavus de, **1:** 74 n, 96.
Spinner's, ——, Washington at, **4:** 178.
Spinning house, Mount Vernon, **3:** 50.
Split Island (Twin Island) Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 416, 416 n, 418, 438, 444, 444 n.
Spotswood, Alexander, governor, **2:** 7 n.
Spotswood, Alexander, general, **2:** 427 n; **3:** 34, 51, 182, 183, 185, 191, 196, 271, 315, 317, 347, 359, 363, 373, 400, 407; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 427; Washington visits, **2:** 371; **3:** 49, 51, 366.
Spotswood, Alexander, brigadier general, **4:** 157 n, 259, 259 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259, 271, 282; Washington visits, **4:** 157.
Spotswood, John, captain, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 274, 285, 291.
Spotswood, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 282.
Spotsylvania County Independent Company, **2:** 193 n; Washington's command of, **2:** 182 n.
Sprain Branch, Bronx River, New York, **2:** 251, 251 n.
Sprigg, Richard, of Maryland, **3:** 198, 201, 202; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 101.
Sprigg, Thomas, **2:** 78 n; Washington visits, **2:** 78.
Sprigg, Thomas or Benjamin, **2:** 361, 361 n; Washington at, **2:** 125.

Sprigg, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 382.
Spring Gardens, near Alexandria, Washington at, **4:** 279.
Spring Mill, Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, **3:** 228 n; Washington at, **3:** 228.
Springettsbury Manor, Philadelphia, **3:** 220 n, 225 n; Washington at, **3:** 225, 227, 228, 229, 234, 235.
Springfield, Massachusetts, **4:** 30; arsenal, **4:** 28, 29; Washington at, **4:** 28, 29.
Springfield, New Jersey, **2:** 255, 255 n.
Spruce trees, **2:** 387, 394.
Spurgeon, James, **2:** 306.
Spurious Letters, of Washington, **1:** 268 n.
Spurrier's tavern, Maryland, Washington at, **4:** 234, 237, 239, 241, 255, 287, 288, 290. *See also* Ball, ——, widow.
Spuyten Duyvil Creek, New York, **2:** 232, 232 n, 237, 238.
Square House, Rye, **4:** 21 n.
Squatters, on Washington's lands in Pennsylvania, **3:** 210 n, 292, 297, 298, 299 n, 301.
Stables, built for Washington, **4:** 84, 85.
Stafford Court House, Virginia, **2:** 372; Washington at, **1:** 275; **3:** 49, 365; **4:** 156, 199.
Stagg, John, **4:** 210, 210 n.
Stallens, Elias, **1:** 191, 192.
Stamford, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 22, 51; Washington's comment on mill dam at, **4:** 23–24.
Stanley (Stanly), ——, sea captain, **1:** 133 n, 134.
Stanton, Joseph, **4:** 133, 133 n.
Stanton, ——, of Eastern Shore, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 313.
Stark, John, brigadier general, **2:** 230.
Staten Island, New York, **2:** 222, 222 n, 255.
State, Secretary of. *See* Jefferson, Thomas.
States, debts assumed by Federal Government, **4:** 159, 159 n; expectation of Washington scattering army in local defense work, **2:** 250; feeble compliance with requisitions for militia, **2:** 254; quotas of troops not sent, **2:** 248.
Staunton, Virginia, **2:** 282, 284, 313.
Staunton River, Virginia, **4:** 197; Washington at, **4:** 196.
Steamboat, **2:** 282 n.
Stedlar, John, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 254, 257, 265, 266, 294, 303, 321, 328, 334, 346, 369, 372, 378, 386, 387; **2:** 22.
Steel, Juliana, **2:** 163 n.
Steele, John, **4:** 186, 186 n.
Steer, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 272, 307.
Steer, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 272.
Stephens, Richard, overseer, **1:** 111, 111 n, 116, 119, 135, 161, 167 n.
Stephens, Richard, Jr., **1:** 117, 118, 121, 122, 124.
Stephens, ——, of Red Stone, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 374.
Stephens Town, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 159.
Stephenson, Mrs. Honora, **1:** 344 n; Washington at, **1:** 344.
Stephenson, Hugh, **2:** 141 n; **3:** 57, 57 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 141.
Stephenson, John, Washington at, **1:** 402, 409, 448, 448 n, 452; horse trade with Washington, **1:** 448 n.
Stephenson, John, colonel, Washington's account against, **3:** 57.
Stephenson, Marcus, **2:** 9, 9 n.
Stephenson, Richard, **1:** 344 n; Washington at, **1:** 159, 159 n.
Stephenson, ——, **1:** 26.
Steptoe, Anne, **2:** 28 n.
Steptoe, William, colonel, **2:** 28, 28 n.
Steuart, Charles, physician, **2:** 98 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 98; fox-hunting with Washington, **2:** 98.
Steuart, David, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 98; fox hunting with Washington, **2:** 98.
Steuben, Frederick Wilhelm Augustus Henry Ferdinand, Baron von, major general, **2:** 209 n, 232; **4:** 57, 59, 62, 111; letter from, **2:** 209; neglected by

Congress, **4:** 83, 83 n; relief of, **4:** 83, 83 n; theater tickets sent by Washington, **4:** 56.
Steven, Adam, captain and colonel, **1:** 74, 74 n, 80, 185 n, 343 n, 405, 408; dines with Washington, **1:** 343.
Stevens, William, **2:** 142 n, 187 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 142.
Stevenson, ——, Havre de Grace, **2:** 194 n; Washington at, **2:** 194.
Steward, Alexander, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 144.
Steward, Charles, **2:** 364; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 364.
Steward, Henry, **1:** 43, 44.
Steward, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 105.
Steward. *See* Stuart.
Stewart, Andrew, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 191.
Stewart, Anthony, **1:** 185 n.
Stewart, Robert, major, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 149, 149 n.
Stewart, Walter, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 119.
Stewart, William, **2:** 295, 298.
Stewart, ——, of Philadelphia, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 137.
Stewart, ——, **2:** 46, 51; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 149.
Stewart, Mrs. ——, of Annapolis, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 123.
Stewart. *See* Stuart.
Stewart's Crossing, Youghiogheny River, **1:** 92, 93 n, 402 n, 407; **2:** 281 n; Washington at, **1:** 402, 449.
Stiles, Ezra, **4:** 24, 24 n.
Stirling, Lord. *See* Alexander, William.
Stith, John, of King George County, **1:** 290 n; Washington at, **1:** 290.
Stith, Mrs. John (Anne Washington), **1:** 290 n.
Stith, Robert, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 65, 66; **4:** 300.
Stith, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 124.
Stith's field, Mount Vernon, **3:** 288.
Stock, live, **2:** 447, 449; **3:** 29, 339, 413; feed racks for, **3:** 293, 294; list of, **2:** 435, 437, 440, 441, 443; **3:** 280.
Stocks, ——, **1:** 124.
Stockton, Julia, **2:** 168 n.
Stockton, Richard, **2:** 168 n; **4:** 263 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 263.
Stoddert, Benjamin, major, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 252 n; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 252; spring, **4:** 200, 200 n.
Stone, John Haskins, **2:** 188 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 188.
Stone, Michael J., **4:** 82, 111; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 345.
Stone, Thomas, Signer, of Maryland, **2:** 161 n, 188 n, 353 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 161, 354; Maryland commissioner on trade relations with Virginia, **2:** 353.
Stone, Walter, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 354; **3:** 356.
Stone, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 182.
Stone, ——, **4:** 129.
Stone, to repair steps, etc., at Mount Vernon, **3:** 7; for mill, **1:** 375, 380, 381.
Stonestreet. *See* Street, Stone.
Stony Creek, West Virginia, **2:** 284 n. *See also* Big Stony Creek.
Stony Point, New York, **2:** 215 n.
Stony River, **2:** 309, 311; **3:** 84; Washington crosses, **2:** 312.
Stores, for army, **2:** 236, 246, 271; destroyed by British, **2:** 232; moved from British reach, **2:** 209; captured from British at Yorktown, **2:** 269.
Storm, violent, **3:** 177, 393.
Story, John, major, **2:** 347 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 347.
Stowe, ——, captain, Washington at, **1:** 296.
Stoy, Henry William, physician, **4:** 262 n.
Stratford, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 23.
Street, Stone (Stonestreet?), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 46.
Strode, ——, captain, **2:** 284.
Strong, Caleb, **4:** 66, 66 n, 94, 140.
Stroud, Matthew, captain, **1:** 33.
Stroud, ——, captain, **2:** 282; Washington visits, **2:** 281.

Strumat, ——, **3:** 127.
Stuart, Miss Anne (Nancy), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 430; **3:** 288, 289, 305, 356, 381, 410; **4:** 257, 258.
Stuart, Charles, **2:** 364 n; **4:** 152; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 364.
Stuart, David, physician, **1:** 258 n; **2:** 35 n, 233 n, 364, 364 n, 366, 419, 426; **3:** 11, 56, 120, 204, 341; **4:** 155 n, 199 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 161, 333, 355, 376, 378, 381, 382, 386, 387, 419; **3:** 6, 39, 40, 65, 88, 89, 106, 120, 124, 160, 161, 165, 166, 174, 184, 205, 214, 302, 303, 308, 309, 315, 318, 331, 356, 357, 384, 388, 410, 141, 412, 436, 443, 457; **4:** 5, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 265, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276 n, 278, 280, 281, 282, 284, 286, 287, 297, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 312, 313, 315; Commissioner for District of Columbia, **4:** 152 n; elected elector for President, **4:** 3; elected to Virginia legislature, **3:** 45, 196; elected to Virginia Convention, **3:** 312; marriage, **2:** 35 n; Washington gives security for, **2:** 377; Washington's liking for, **2:** 35 n; Washington visits, **2:** 35, 394.
Stuart, Mrs. David, **2:** 364 n, 413; **3:** 120, 225, 289, 293, 443; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 364, 379, 430; **3:** 44, 46, 88, 120, 124, 131, 133, 134, 158, 160, 184, 191, 239, 240, 260, 262, 268, 269, 289, 293, 299, 300, 303, 305, 315, 318, 331, 356, 377, 382, 384, 388, 401, 444; **4:** 261, 278, 298, 299, 315, 318, 319; illness, **2:** 405, 406; **3:** 8, 427; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **3:** 427.
Stuart, Gilbert, Germantown studio, **4:** 247; Washington portraits, **4:** 247 n.
Stuart, Nelly, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 364.
Stuart, Richard, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 410, 411; **4:** 310.
Stuart (Stewart), Richardson, **2:** 370, 395, 424; **3:** 11, 75, 85; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 148; complaints against, **3:** 122, 362; services discontinued, **3:** 362.
Stuart, Walter, captain, **1:** 108, 108 n, 144.
Stuart, William, **3:** 268; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 22, 46, 261, 262, 269.
Stuart, ——, of Norfolk, **1:** 124.
Stuart, ——, **1:** 124.
Stuart, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 376, 423, 424; **3:** 269, 299, 300, 303, 315, 443, 444; **4:** 318.
Stumps, Michael, Washington at, **1:** 8, 9.
Sturges, Benjamin, **4:** 87, 87 n.
Sturges, Jonathan, **4:** 124.
Sturges, ——, **4:** 140.
Sudbury, Massachusetts, **4:** 33.
Suffern's Tavern, New York, **2:** 257, 257 n.
Suffield, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 29.
Suffolk County, **1:** 188, 194; Washington in, **1:** 296.
Sugar Creek, near Venango, **1:** 58 n.
Sugar Lands, **1:** 137; **2:** 398.
Sugar Run Land, **1:** 121, 121 n.
Sullivan, John, president of New Hampshire, **4:** 42 n, 43, 45 n; meets Washington at the state line, **4:** 42; dines with Washington, **4:** 43; Washington visits, **4:** 45.
Sullivan, John, **3:** 389 n, 397; agreement to dig a well, **3:** 389.
Sullivan, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 454; **3:** 141.
Sumerton, Virginia, **1:** 190 n.
Summers, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 318.
Sumner, Luke, **1:** 190.
Sumter, Thomas, **4:** 102, 102 n, 124, 124 n, 140.
Sunday, Washington observes in traveling, **4:** 50; Washington observes in tenant business, **2:** 294.
Superb, warship, Boston, Washington visits, **4:** 38.
Supplies, for army, **2:** 210, 211, 219, 225, 234, 272; French call for embarrassing, **2:** 210; needed, **2:** 211, 212; system, **2:** 234, 234 n, 235.
Supplies, for Mount Vernon, **1:** 273, 273 n, 339; not to be sent if taxed by Parliament, **1:** 336 n.

Supreme Court, United States, **1:** 345 n. *See also* Jay, John.
Surinam (Dutch Guiana), molasses and coffee from, **3:** 117.
Surveys and surveying by Washington, **1:** 5, 8, 9, 10, 134, 136, 246, 247, 265, 316, 316 n, 320, 321, 322, 334, 334 n, 348, 369 n, 370, 372; **2:** 10, 38, 50, 51, 54, 55, 65, 66, 67, 74, 76, 79, 80, 83, 145, 342, 343, 366, 418, 461; **3:** 23, 55, 102, 103, 133, 135, 138, 142, 143, 167, 173, 177, 265, 266, 444; **4:** 3, 301, 301 n, 303, 303 n, 304, 307 n, 317, 317 n; at Ashford's, **1:** 371; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 247, 247 n; distances to Mansion House from mill, etc., **3:** 446; at Dogue Run, **1:** 365, 367, 369, 370; Dogue Run road to Hunting Creek, **3:** 446; in Neck, **2:** 98; platting of Crawfords, **2:** 37, 37 n; in Shenandoah, **1:** 318; at Triplett's, **1:** 370.
Susquehanna Ferry, **4:** 229, 234, 237, 239, 242.
Susquehanna River, **2:** 323; Washington at, **3:** 215, 238; **4:** 211, 254, 288, 290.
Susquehanna Works, **3:** 28, 160.
Sussex Court House, Orange County, New York, **2:** 210, 211.
Sute (Suver), Peter, **1:** 83, 83 n.
Suter (Shuter's), John, tavern, Georgetown, Washington at, **2:** 394; **3:** 257; **4:** 153, 237.
Sutton, ——, of Pennsylvania, Washington at, **2:** 114.
Sutton, ——, South Carolina, **4:** 184 n; Washington at, **4:** 184.
Swain, Luke, **4:** 171 n, 176 n.
Swamp, clearing, **1:** 250; cultivation, **1:** 332, 351; **2:** 23.
Swampberry trees, **2:** 355.
Swan, James, major, **3:** 162 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 162, 163.
Swan, sent to Washington, **2:** 352.
Swan Point, Virginia, **1:** 290.
Swann, Thomas, **4:** 303 n.
Swanwick, John, **3:** 107; **4:** 285 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 285; Washington visits, **3:** 232.
Swanwick, Mrs. John, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 315.
Swearengen, Thomas, captain, **2:** 281.
Swearingen, Andrew, captain, **2:** 298, 298 n, 299.
Sweet Springs, Botetourt County, Virginia, **2:** 282, 284, 389.
Swift, Foster, physician, **2:** 446 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 446.
Swift, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 336, 337.
Swift, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 141.
Swift Run Gap, Blue Ridge Mountains, Washington at, **2:** 316.
Sword-chain, purchased by Washington, **2:** 169 n.
Sword-knot, Washington's, **2:** 151 n.
Sycamore Island, Potomac River, **2:** 416 n.
Sycamore tree, unusual, **1:** 429.
Sydebotham, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 319.
Sylvester, Peter, **4:** 87, 87 n.
Symonds, Thomas, captain, **2:** 269 n.
Symsbury (Lymbarie), ——, **2:** 364 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 364.

T

Taft, Samuel, Uxbridge, daughters receive presents from Washington, **4:** 48 n; Washington at, **4:** 48, 48 n, 49.
Talbot, Richard, **1:** 375, 376, 380, 381.
Talbot's, ——, Washington at, **2:** 10 n.
Tallmadge, Benjamin, major, **2:** 208, 208 n, letter from, **2:** 221, 221 n.
Tallow, **1:** 124.
Tammany Society, New York, receives Creek chiefs in New York, **4:** 135 n. *See also* Sons of St. Tammany.
Tankervill, Charles Bennet, Earl of, **1:** 214 n.
Tar, **1:** 124, 152; **4:** 164.
Tarborough, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 163, 164.
Tarleton, Banastre, lieutenant colonel, **2:** 246.

Tarrant, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 181.
Tarrytown, New York, **2:** 233, 236.
Tarte, ——, **2:** 418 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 418.
Tasker, Benjamin, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 143, 143 n.
Tate, ——, Englishman, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 388.
Tawnytown, Maryland, **4:** 202 n, 203; Washington at, **4:** 202.
Tax commissioner, **3:** 378.
Taxation, by Parliament, **1:** 336 n.
Tayler, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 276.
Tayloe, John, of Mount Airy, Virginia, **4:** 302 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 302.
Taylor, George, **1:** 142.
Taylor, George, Jr., **2:** 411 n, 412, 417; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 411.
Taylor, Henry, **1:** 167 n.
Taylor, Richard, **1:** 8 n.
Taylor, Robert, **1:** 5 n.
Taylor, Thomas, colonel, **4:** 181, 181 n.
Taylor, ——, major, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 388, 389.
Taylor, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 274.
Taylor, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 143.
Taylor, ——, **2:** 454.
Taylor, ——, laborer, **3:** 82.
Taylor's Ordinary, Stafford Court House, Washington at, **2:** 372, 372 n, 402.
Tazewell, William, physician, **4:** 308 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 308, 309.
Teakle, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 316.
Teams, for army, **2:** 263.
Telfair, Edward, governor, **4:** 179, 179 n, 180.
Telfair, Mrs. Edward, **4:** 179 n.
Teller's Point. *See* Croton Point.
Tellez, Pedro, **2:** 428 n, 458; letter to, **2:** 458 n.
Temple, Sir John, **4:** 15 n, 91; instructions to, **4:** 15, 16.
Ten Broeck, Abraham, brigadier general, **2:** 229.
Ten Mile Creek, Monongahela River, **2:** 286.
Ten Mile Creek, West Virginia, **2:** 285, 289; Washington near, **1:** 426 n.
Tenacharison (Half King), Seneca chief, **1:** 75 n.
Tenants, Washington's, **2:** 280, 286, 429, 457, 457 n; **3:** 4; in Berkeley, **2:** 280; in Fauquier, **2:** 66; leases, **2:** 145, 293; in western Pennsylvania, **3:** 142 n, 143 n; terms, **2:** 286; in the Shenandoah, **2:** 144, 145.
Tennessee, character of people, **4:** 88.
Tennessee (Cherokee) River, **1:** 446, 446 n, 448; **4:** 78, 79; Doughty's fight on, **4:** 134.
Tent, Washington purchases, **1:** 391 n.
Terra Rubra, Maryland, **4:** 202 n.
Terret, William Henry, of Fairfax, **4:** 301, 301 n.
Terrett, Miss ——, **1:** 341 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 341, 343; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 115.
Tetard's Hill, New York City, **2:** 239 n.
Thacher, Peter, clergyman, **4:** 35, 35 n.
Thanksgiving, proclamation, first, **4:** 55 n.
Tharp (Tharpe), Richard, **3:** 47, 47 n, 73, 108.
Thatcher, George, **4:** 67, 67 n, 105.
Theater, **1:** 378, 384 n; **2:** 39 n; **3:** 227 n; **4:** 54 n, 55 n, 248 n, 250, 252 n, 253 n; Washington at, **1:** 268, 268 n, 292, 292 n, 345, 351, 379 n, 384; **2:** 5, 17, 17 n, 27, 35, 35 n, 39, 39 n, 40, 57, 58, 59, 59 n, 82, 82 n, 83, 113, 125, 227, 228; **4:** 54, 56, 59, 59 n, 173, 248, 252.
Theobald, Prior, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 7.
Thomas, Nicholas, letter to, **2:** 259 n.
Thomas, Owen, **2:** 23.
Thomas, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 297.
Thompson, George, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 408.
Thompson, Isaac, squire, Long Island, Washington at, **4:** 118.
Thompson, Israel, Washington at, **2:** 279.
Thompson, John, clergyman, **2:** 7 n.

Thompson, Jonah, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 302.
Thompson, Richard, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 126.
Thompson, R——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 169.
Thompson, Thomas, physician, **3:** 408, 408 n.
Thompson, William, of Colchester, **3:** 365 n; Washington at, **3:** 365.
Thompson, William, **2:** 7 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 7, 8, 192.
Thompson, William, of Chotank?, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 22, 134; **4:** 3.
Thompson, William, tenant, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 102.
Thompson, ——, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 392.
Thompson, ——, clergyman, **2:** 419.
Thompson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 141.
Thompson, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 49.
Thomson, Charles, notifies Washington of his election as President, **4:** 7.
Thorn trees, **2:** 346, 370.
Thornton, Francis, colonel, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 106.
Thornton, Francis, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 334, 335.
Thornton, George, **1:** 341 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 341.
Thornton, John, colonel, **1:** 163 n.
Thornton, Mildred. *See* Washington, Mrs. Charles.
Thornton, Presley, **1:** 185 n.
Thornton, Peter Presley, captain, **3:** 124 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 124; **4:** 286, 305.
Thornton, William, physician, **4:** 235 n, 279 n, 284 n, 290 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 279, 282, 285, 290, 297, 309, 317, 413; Washington visits, **4:** 290, 304.
Thornton, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259.
Three Brothers Islands, Ohio River, **1:** 420 n.
Threshing machine, **4:** 72, 72 n, 73, 282; Washington on, **3:** 272. *See also* under the various grains, Corn, Rye, Wheat, etc.
Throckmorton, Mordecai, at Mount Vernon; **3:** 77, 77 n.
Thruston, Charles Mynn, **1:** 253 n, 340, 340 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 253, 361, 362; dines with Washington, **1:** 342.
Tibbles (Tibbetts), J ——, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 315, 321.
Tiger, Washington at exhibition of, **1:** 351.
Tiger Valley, **3:** 84.
Tiger (Tyger) Valley River, **2:** 303, 304.
Tilghman, Edward, speaker, **2:** 52 n.
Tilghman, James, **2:** 70 n, 163 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 70; Washington visits, **2:** 163, 197.
Tilghman, Matthew, **2:** 61 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 61, 67, 68, 149, 150, 190.
Tilghman, James or Matthew, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 88, 90, 91, 98, 108, 109, 110, 115, 116, 118, 119, 122.
Tilghman, Tench, **2:** 61 n, 261 n; **3:** 40.
Tilghman, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 101, 103, 123, 126, 127.
Tillotson, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 380.
Timber cutting, speed, **1:** 122, 127, 128.
Tippett's Hill, New York, **2:** 243, 243 n, 244.
Titcomb, Jonathan, brigadier general, **4:** 39, 39 n, 42.
Tobacco, **1:** 333; crop south of the Ohio, **4:** 89; inspection act, **1:** 120 n; trade stopped by Natchez, **4:** 75; warehouses, **1:** 120 n, 136, 136 n; Washington's, **1:** 114, 116, 117, 123, 136; **3:** 374, 422; crop, **1:** 165 n, 166 n, 167, 167 n, 168, 169, 170, 171; frosted, **1:** 188; ground, **1:** 165, 185; **4:** 5; hills, **1:** 164; houses, **1:** 148, 177, 223; inspection, **1:** 166 n; mountain, **1:** 151; prices in London objected to, **1:** 273; shipped to England, **1:** 166 n, 167 n, 168, 169, 170; sold, **1:** 166 n; trimmed, **1:** 201.
Toby's Creek, **2:** 323.

Todd, ——, physician, **2**: 40 n; Washington at, **2**: 40.
Todd's (Tod's) Bridge, Mattapony River, **1**: 356; Washington at, **1**: 156, 156 n, 158, 296 n, 379, 385; **2**: 26, 39, 40, 55, 60, 84, 103, 103 n, 128, 151, 155, 159, 266, 326, 351.
Todd's Ordinary, **4**: 157; Washington at, **1**: 323 n; **2**: 15.
Tomlinson. *See* Tumblestone.
Toner, Joseph Meredith, **1**: xii, 72.
Tonnage, duties on, **4**: 115.
Tools, **2**: 447, 448; **3**: 4; lists, **2**: 438, 441; **3**: 280.
Torrence, Joseph, major, **4**: 220.
Tortola, Virgin Islands, **1**: 26, 26 n.
Touraine, Regiment, **2**: 259 n, 264.
Towers, James, ensign, **1**: 89, 89 n, 90.
Towlston Grange, Virginia, **1**: 131 n, 247, 263; Washington at, **1**: 247, 302, 327, 404; **3**: 26. *See also* Fairfax, Bryan.
Towlston Manor, England, **1**: 3 n.
Toy, The, or a trip to Hampton Court, drama, **4**, 54 n.
Tracy, Thomas, music master, **4**: 278 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 278, 279, 282, 285, 286, 297.
Tracy, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 331, 377, 412.
Tracy, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 281.
Tracy, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 116.
Tracy, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 156.
Trade, **2**: 321, 326; Indian, **1**: 411; policy with western settlers, **2**: 325, 327, 328; United States, with foreign countries, **4**: 15, 16.
Tradesmen, of Boston, procession at Washington's entrance to the town, **4**: 34, 34 n.
Trammell, Sampson, Washington at, **2**: 279.
Trammell's Islands, Potomac River, **2**: 403, 403 n; Washington at, **2**: 403.
Trannels, **3**: 293, 293 n, 297, 298, 299.
Trappe, The, Germantown road, Pennsylvania, **4**: 210 n; Washington at, **4**: 210.
Traquair, Earl of, **4**: 13 n.
Traversy, Marquis de, presented to Washington, **4**: 419.
Treadway, ——, Virginia, Washington at, **4**: 197.
Treadwell, John, **4**: 40 n.
Treasury, Secretary of. *See* Hamilton, Alexander.
Treaty, commercial, **4**: 314 n; with Great Britain, **4**: 16, 16 n, 17, 20, 132, 138, 139; with Spain, **4**: 108; Definitive with Britain (1783), **4**: 16 n, 20. *See also* Jay, John, *also* Fort Harmar.
Trebell's Landing, James River, **2**: 263.
Trees, **1**: 334, 335, 347, 353, 356, 366, 368, 374, 377, 379, 384, 392, 430; **3**: 293, 294, 316, 440; damaged by storm, **2**: 347; from Fairfax Court House, **2**: 345; planted, **2**: 344, 345, 346, 347; **3**: 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 52, 54, 57, 82, 83, 318, 319; nursury experiment, **2**: 360, 361; noted on the Ohio River, **1**: 426; service, **2**: 346, 347; transplanting, **1**: 255; **2**: 340, 341, 344, 345, 348, 351, 352, 355, 373, 429, 431; **3**: 13, 30, 37, 39, 320; Washington's knowledge of, **1**: 429 n; Washington's observation of, **1**: 437, 442; Washington's search for, **2**: 334, 338. *See also* under the different varieties: Hickory, Oak, Pine, etc.
Trent, William, captain, **1**: 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81; surrender to the French, **1**: 75, 77, 78, 78 n, 79, 80.
Trenton, New Jersey, **2**: 258; iron works, **3**: 231 n; Washington at, **2**: 112; Washington's fishing trip to, **3**: 231.
Trenton, North Carolina, Washington at, **4**: 166.
Trickett, Thomas, **2**: 280 n; visits Washington in Berkeley, **2**: 280.
Trinity Church, Boston, **4**: 35 n; Washington at, **4**: 35.
Trinity Church, New York City, **4**: 108 n; President's pew, **4**: 108;

Washington at, **4:** 108, 114, 121, 126, 130, 135.
Triplet, Francis, **1:** 142 n.
Triplett (Triplet), Thomas, **1:** 133, 142 n, 155, 155 n; **2:** 50, 338, 338 n; **3:** 444; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 299, 370; **2:** 30, 33, 46, 126, 162, 174; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 283, 370; **2:** 45; Washington visits, **2:** 45.
Triplett (Triplet), William, **1:** 154, 155, 155 n, 162, 162 n, 370; **3:** 110, 117; agreement with Washington, **3:** 126; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 46; **3:** 114, 201; builds peristyles at Mount Vernon, **1:** 142, 142 n, 143; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 264, 265, 308, 364, 370; land, **1:** 246; **2:** 342, 343, 377; **3:** 311; surveys, **1:** 246, 370; Washington visits, **1:** 369; **2:** 46, 343, 421; **3:** 110, 117, 119, 126.
Triplett (the two Mr. Tripletts, Thomas and William), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 103; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 454, 455; **2:** 3, 4, 103.
Triplett (Triplet), ——, **1:** 154; **2:** 170.
Troops, called for, **2:** 218, 219; Provisional Army, cantonment, **4:** 316; in Western Insurrection march, **4:** 217, 221, 222; restraint of, **4:** 216; Washington's address to, **4:** 222, 222 n.
Trotter, John, **1:** 61, 61 n.
Troublesome Iron Works, North Carolina, Washington at, **4:** 192.
Troup, Robert, **4:** 85, 85 n.
Trumbull, John, **4:** 37, 71, 71 n, 73 n, 86 n, 102; paintings viewed by Washington and Mrs. Washington, **4:** 73; portrait of Washington, **4:** 86, 87, 91, 92, 93, 106, 136, 137, 142, 143; portrait for Mrs. Washington, **3:** 137, 137 n; rides with Washington to observe him on horseback, **4:** 93.
Trumbull, Jonathan, governor, **2:** 217 n, 248, 248 n; conversation with Washington, **2:** 217; letters from, **2:** 228, 234, 234 n; letter to, **2:** 246, 246 n.
Trumbull, Jonathan, Jr., lieutenant colonel, **2:** 261 n, 269 n; **4:** 71, 71 n, 102; diary, **2:** 256 n.
Truro Parish, Fairfax County, **1:** 108 n, 133 n; clerk, **1:** 294; chapel of ease, **1:** 120 n; minister, **1:** 377 n; vestry, **1:** 142 n, 300, 301 n, 309 n, 315, 320, 335, 345; **2:** 25, 66, 142, 143, 240, 291, 291 n; vestrymen, **1:** 132 n, 133 n; Washington's attendance at vestry meetings, **1:** 240 n; Washington's levy, **1:** 388 n; Washington's tithes, **1:** 285 n.
Truxtun, Thomas, captain, **4:** 312 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 312.
Tryal, sloop, flour shipped by, **3:** 66.
Tucker, Thomas Tudor, of South Carolina, **4:** 62, 62 n, 105.
Tucker, ——, colonel, **1:** 189 n.
Tucker, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 120.
Tucker's Mills, Elizabeth River, Virginia, **1:** 193, 194, 194 n.
Tudor Place, Georgetown, **4:** 271 n.
Tulcher, ——, Georgia, Washington at, **4:** 179.
Tull's Husbandry, **1:** 165 n.
Tully Creek, North Carolina, **1:** 193.
Tulpahocken River, Pennsylvania, **4:** 211, 218.
Tumblestone's (Tomlinson) tavern, Pennsylvania, **2:** 287 n, 289; Washington at, **2:** 287, 288.
Tunnicliff, William, hotel project in Washington City, **4:** 286 n.
Turkey, wild, **1:** 8, 9, 11, 418; killed, **1:** 415.
Turkey Foot (Confluence, Pennsylvania), **1:** 83, 83 n; **2:** 308; road, **2:** 293.
Turner, H., at Mount Vernon, **4:** 309, 310.
Turner, Thomas, colonel, Washington at, **1:** 113, 113 n.
Turner, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 304.
Turner, Thomas, Jr., of Fairfax, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 297.
Turner, ——, colonel, **4:** 211, 211 n.
Turner, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 262.

Turner, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 305.
Turner, ——, **2:** 388, 395.
Turner's Mill, Patterson's Creek, **1:** 401 n; Washington at, **1:** 401, 406.
Turnips, **1:** 177, 178, 186, 187, 201, 202, 212, 213, 216, 227, 239, 282, 289; **2:** 28, 406, 414, 427, 444; **3:** 39, 65, 80, 94, 95, 98, 99, 101, 107, 108, 109, 111, 114, 130, 132, 167, 176, 187, 213, 260, 262, 263, 276, 277, 278, 396, 398, 399, 412, 413, 450; experimental yield, **3:** 259.
Turpentine, **1:** 124.
Turtle, feast given by Washington, **2:** 445.
Turtle Creek, Monongahela River, **1:** 44, 402 n, 409; Washington at, **1:** 44, 402, 448.
Twin Island Creek. *See* Split Island Creek.
Twining, Nathaniel, **4:** 234 n; act for relief of, **4:** 131, 131 n; stage line, **4:** 234.
Tyler, Thomas G., Aquia, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 155 n, 158, 160, 160 n.

U

Uniform, equipment sent to Washington, **2:** 148 n.
Union, merchant ship, **2:** 168 n.
Union Farm, **1:** 129 n; **3:** 448 n, 449, 450, 451; **4:** 257, 287; Washington at, **3:** 448, 449.
Union tavern, Georgetown, **4:** 271; Washington at, **4:** 258, 310.
Union Town, Pennsylvania, **2:** 299 n.
United States, appropriations (1790), **4:** 108, 108 n, 109; British neighbors, **2:** 326; stability of government, **4:** 18; Spanish neighbors, **2:** 326; treasurer, **2:** 112 n.
United States Arms, tavern, Worcester, Washington at, **4:** 31 n.
University, National, in District of Columbia, stock for, **2:** 376 n.
Upper Marlborough, Maryland, Washington at, **2:** 36.
Utrecht, Long Island, **4:** 117; Washington at, **4:** 116.
Uxbridge, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 48, 48 n, 49.

V

Valangin, Charles W., **4:** 316 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 316, 317.
Valentine, Joseph, **1:** 165; Washington at, **1:** 268, 296.
Valentine's Hill, New York, **2:** 233, 242, 250, 251.
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, Washington's fishing trip to, **3:** 230, 231.
Van Berckel, Peter John, **4:** 54 n, 59, 59 n, 105; medal for, **4:** 130; Washington visits, **4:** 54.
Van Braam, Jacob, lieutenant, **1:** 43, 43 n, 47 n, 64, 74, 74 n.
Van Cortlandt Park, New York City, **2:** 239 n.
Van Der Bergh, James, colonel, Washington at, **2:** 217, 217 n, 219.
Vanderhorst, Arnoldus, **4:** 171 n.
Vander Kemp, Francis Adrian, **3:** 396 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 396, 397.
Vanhaven, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 273.
Van Havre, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 307.
Vanhorn, ——, Maryland, **4:** 234 n; Washington at, **4:** 234, 237, 239.
Van Metre, Henry, **1:** 8 n; Washington at, **1:** 8, 10, 11.
Van Praddle, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 351.
Van Staphorst, Nicholas, **3:** 139 n.
Van Staphorst, Nicholas & Jacob, of Amsterdam, **4:** 302 n.
Van Staphorst, ——, **4:** 302 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 302.
Vareen, ——, of South Carolina, **4:**

169 n; pilots Washington, **4:** 168 Washington at, **4:** 168.
Vaughan, John, of Philadelphia, **3:** 220 n; Washington visits, **3:** 220.
Vaughan, Samuel, **2:** 336 n; **4:** 53 n; sends marble chimney piece to Mount Vernon, **2:** 357; Washington visits, **4:** 53.
Venango, Pennsylvania, **1:** 47, 47 n, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 62, 75, 78, 78 n, 98, 99; **2:** 319, 323; Indian council at, **1:** 57; Indian spies sent to, **1:** 99; location, 54; Washington at, **1:** 54.
Vernon, Edward, admiral, **1:** 129 n.
Verplanck, Gulian, **4:** 111 n.
Versailles, France, United States chargé at, **4:** 117.
Vestal, John, Washington at Gap and ferry, **1:** 73 n.
Vestal's Gap, Blue Ridge Mountains, **2:** 10 n; Washington at, **1:** 73 n.
Vetches, winter, **3:** 255, 258, 271.
Viar, José Ignacio de, **4:** 181 n.
Vicars, William, captain, **1:** 136, 136 n.
Vice President, United States. *See* Adams, John.
Vidler, ——, **2:** 357.
Ville de Paris, French flag ship, **2:** 270; Washington on board, **2:** 260, 260 n.
Vincennes (Old Post), **1:** 47, 443, 444, 448; **4:** 141.
Vincent, Henry, **1:** 300.
Vining, John, **4:** 102, 102 n, 124, 140.
Violette, Edward, **1:** 177, 177 n.
Viomésnil, Antoine Charles de Houx, Baron de, maréchal de camp, **2:** 266, 266 n.
Virginia, **2:** 225, 247; allied armies transported to, **2:** 254; Assembly, **1:** 162, 162 n, 163, 189 n, 325, 352 n; **2:** 28, 232, 336, 376. *See also* legislature *post;* Attorney General, Washington at, **2:** 372; Bill of Rights, **1:** 145; British in, **2:** 209, 209 n, 225, 226; Burgesses, **1:** 356, 379, 385 n; **2:** 15 n, 55 n, 153 n; Address to King, **1:** 325 n; ball, **2:** 57, 151 n, 152; dissolved, **1:** 325 n, 344 n; **2:** 152 n; calls for a Continental Congress, **2:** 152 n; collectors of revenue, **4:** 159, 159 n; commissioners on trade relations with Maryland, **2:** 352, 352 n; Convention, **2:** 153 n, 158 n, 186 n, 192 n; Washington at, **2:** 158, 159, 188, 189; State Constitutional Convention, **3:** 216, 217; Convention on U.S. Constitution, **3:** 312; Council, **2:** 153; Council's ball, **1:** 382; Washington with the Council, **1:** 382; **2:** 40, 86; court judges, **3:** 50; delegate to Continental Congress, **2:** 159 n, 165, 190 n; elections, **1:** 344, 344 n; **2:** 364; **3:** 196, 331; **4:** 3, 6; Governor, **1:** 75, 94, 95, 324; frontiers, **4:** 69; Kentucky's separation from, **4:** 74, 74 n; legislature, **4:** 60, 60 n, 61, 121, 303, 303 n. *See also* Burgesses *ante;* map, **1:** 150 n, 336; Non-Importation Association, **1:** 145 n, 325 n, 379, 382, 383, 383 n, 384 n, 385 n, 389, 389 n, 392 n; **2:** 152 n, 153 n, 159 n; North Carolina boundary, **1:** 190, 190 n, 193; officers, **1:** 391, 391 n, 400 n, 405 n; **2:** 9, 9 n, 37, 84 n, 87; ordinance confirming land titles, **2:** 301 n; Pennsylvania boundary, **2:** 290, 302; people's feeling toward U.S. Government, **4:** 159; ratifies U.S. Constitution, **3:** 379; treasurer, **1:** 325; troops, **1:** 73, 428, 428 n; **2:** 225 n, 249; **4:** 155, 155 n; militia, **1:** 79, 92, 283; **4:** 15, 209, 220; Washington's bust for, **2:** 419; Washington's comment on the country, **4:** 162, 163, 164, 197, 198, 199.
Virginia Almanack (The), **1:** xvii, xviii.
Virginia Cross Creek, West Virginia, **1:** 414 n.
Virginians, marking lands on the Ohio, **1:** 416, 444; relations with the Indians, **1:** 423.
Vobe, Mrs. Jane, Williamsburg, Washington at, **1:** 352; **2:** 17, 85, 86.

W

Wabash River, **1:** 47, 47 n, 446, 446 n.
Waccamaw River, South Carolina, **4:** 169, 170; Washington crosses, **4:** 169.
Wachovia, United Brethren of, **4:** 186.
Waddel, James, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 13, 14.
Wade, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 302.
Wade, ——, Dogue Run, **3:** 42, 45, 90, 102, 103; land surveyed, **2:** 79.
Wade Mrs. ——, **3:** 53; land purchased from, **1:** 223, 223 n.
Wade, Miss ——, **1:** 267.
Wadsworth, Jeremiah, colonel, **2:** 217, 217 n; **3:** 168 n; **4:** 27, 27 n, 71, 71 n, 102; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 168; Washington visits, **4:** 28.
Wagener, Andrew, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 140.
Wagener, Peter (1st), **1:** 309 n.
Wagener, Peter, Jr., major, **1:** 133 n, 309 n, 322; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 335, 345, 372, 388.
Wagener, Peter (3d), major, **1:** 209 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 308, 309; **2:** 8, 14, 21, 22, 51, 68, 106, 107, 150; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 309, 310.
Wagener (Waggoner), Thomas, lieutenant, **1:** 53, 87, 87 n, 309 n.
Wagener, Miss ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 433.
Wagener, ——, **2:** 359; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 20, 88, 143, 184; Washington visits, **2:** 188.
Wagons, **2:** 256, 261.
Waite, William, **2:** 156 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 156.
Wakefield, **1:** 270 n.
Waker, ——, midshipman, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386.
Walden, Frederick von, captain, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 418.
Walke, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 359.
Walker, John, colonel, **4:** 314 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 314.
Walker, John, **4:** 121 n, 122, 124, 128.
Walker, John, **1:** 189 n.
Walker, Richard B., butler, **3:** 281 n; share of pork, **3:** 151, 281, 287.
Walker, Sarah (Mrs. William Fairfax), **1:** 3 n.
Walker, ——, physician, **1:** 189 n.
Walking, for exercise, **4:** 57, 58, 65, 66, 68, 83, 94, 113, 129.
Walks, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 340, 350, 354; gravelled, **2:** 350, 408.
Wallace, ——, of Ireland, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 35, 36.
Wallace, ——, purser, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 386.
Wallace, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 73, 77.
Wallingford, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 26.
Walnut Grove, Philadelphia, Washington at, **2:** 167 n.
Walnut trees, **1:** 371; **2:** 384; English, **2:** 340, 350; **3:** 25.
Walpole, Thomas, **1:** 405 n.
Walpole Grant, **1:** 405, 405 n.
Walter, Peter, **4:** 311 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 311.
Waltham, Massachusetts, **4:** 49.
Walton, George, Signer, **4:** 178.
Walton, ——, lieutenant, U.S. Navy, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 274.
Wampum, **1:** 46, 46 n, 76, 78, 79, 83, 90, 94, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 410 n, 411 n; French speech belt, **1:** 57, 60; given by Washington to the Six Nations, **1:** 50, 51; given by French to the Indians, **1:** 49, 51, 52; sent Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, **1:** 75; sent Delawares and Shawnese, **1:** 93; use of by French, **1:** 98.
Wappacomo, same as South Branch of Potomac *q.v.*
Wappings Creek, New York, **2:** 227, 237, 248.
War, Board of, Continental Congress, **2:** 253.
War Department, appropriations (1790), **4:** 109.
War, Secretary of. *See* Knox, Henry.
Warburton Manor, Maryland, **1:** 124 n,

276 n, **2**: 44 n. *See also* Digges, William.
Ward, Edward, ensign, **1**: 75, 75 n, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 91; surrender to French, **1**: 76.
Warm Springs (Bath or Berkeley Springs, West Virginia), **1**: 6 n; **2**: 25, 30; land purchased by Washington, **1**: 161; Washington at, **1**: 6; Washington's journey to, **1**: 336. *See also* Bath, *also* Berkeley Springs.
Warne, William, Jamaica, Long Island, Washington at, **4**: 116.
Warren, James, **4**: 199 n.
Warren, W., **4**: 199 n.
Warren, ——, **1**: 24.
Warrior's Path to Cherokee Country, **1**: 425.
Warville, Brissot, J. P. de, **3**: 444 n, 446 n; describes Mount Vernon and Washington **3**: 446 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 446.
Warwick, Maryland, Washington at, **4**: 150.
Washington and Lee College, **4**: 158 n.
Washington City, adjustment of conflicting interests by Washington, **4**: 154; commissioners, **2**: 158 n; hotel subscribed to by Washington, **4**: 286 n; map of, **4**: 153 n; Proprietors' agreement, **4**: 155, 155 n; sites of government buildings decided by Washington, **4**: 200, 200 n, 201; surveys of, **4**: 153; Washington examines site, **4**: 153; Washington's lots and houses in, **4**: 284, 284 n; Washington at, **4**: 255, 255 n, 257, 261, 271, 284, 286, 290, 305, 317; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **4**: 277, 278.
Washington, Ann, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 282.
Washington, Anne, of Cholank. *See* Stith, Mrs. John.
Washington, Annie (Nancy), **2**: 41.
Washington, Augustine (Father of George), **1**: 115 n, 129 n; estate, **1**: 138 n; moves from Pope's Creek, **1**: 270 n.
Washington, Mrs. Augustine (Mary Ball, Mother of George Washington). *See* Washington, Mrs. Mary.
Washington, Augustine (Halfbrother of George), **1**: 127, 127 n, 406; **2**: 426 n.
Washington, Mrs. Augustine (Ann Aylett), **2**: 19 n; Washington visits, **2**: 19.
Washington, Bailey, **2**: 377 n.
Washington, Bushrod, **1**: vii, 145, 154; **2**: 300, 313, 344 n, 426; accompanies Washington on his Ohio journey, **2**: 279 n, 285, 287; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 344, 346, 384, 385, 426; **3**: 4, 5, 82, 145, 148, 166, 242, 243, 298, 382, 427; **4**: 3, 259, 283, 284, 285, 286, 297, 299, 309, 310, 311; mother, **1**: 326 n; wife, **2**: 64 n.
Washington, Mrs. Bushrod (Hannah Bushrod), **1**: 145 n; (Anne Blackburn), **1**: 145 n, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 41; **3**: 280.
Washington, Catherine, first wife of Fielding Lewis, **1**: 215 n.
Washington, Catherine (Katie), daughter of Warner Washington, **1**: 376 n; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 376.
Washington, Catherine (Kitty), **2**: 423 n; **3**: 12; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 41, 423, 445, 446, 452, 461; **3**: 11, 14, 77.
Washington, Catherine, **4**: 298 n.
Washington, Charles, **1**: 270, 285; **2**: 33, 60 n, 79 n, 280, 344, 402; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 246, 319, 321, 334, 349, 369, 394, 396; **2**: 7, 8, 89, 127, 128, 382, 384, 386; fishing with Washington, **1**: 396; health, **4**: 5; land, **1**: 136, 136 n; Washington visits, **1**: 391; **2**: 15, 79, 280.
Washington, Mrs. Charles (Mildred Thornton), **1**: 136 n.
Washington, Corbin, **1**: 145; **2**: 68 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 68; **3**: 240, 269, 270, 369; Washington visits, **4**: 316.
Washington, Mrs. Corbin (Hannah Lee), **4**: 307 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 307.
Washington, Edward, **1**: 112 n.

Washington, Eliza (Mrs. Alexander Spotswood), **2:** 427 n.
Washington, Elizabeth (Betsy), **1:** 319; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 314, 315.
Washington, Elizabeth (Betty). *See* Lewis, Mrs. Fielding.
Washington, Ferdinando, **2:** 458 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 458; death, **3:** 305; fox hunting with Washington, **2:** 459; illness, **3:** 302.
Washington, George, abandons horses on journey to French commandant, **1:** 63; accidents to, **1:** 65; **3:** 237, 238; **4:** 150, 151, 156; accounts, **1:** 107, 357 n; acquires Mount Vernon, **1:** 129 n; adds article to Virginia Association, **1:** 384 n; adherence to Non-Importation, **1:** 336 n, 392 n; adjutant general of Virginia, **1:** 43 n; administers estate of John Parke Custis, **1:** 258 n; agent for Virginia officers, **1:** 391 n, 400 n; agent for his western lands, **2:** 293; arranges for management of his mother's plantation, **2:** 33 n; arbitrator in disputes, **1:** 273, 393, 393 n, 394, 396, 454; **2:** 5, 7; attack on Jumonville, **1:** 87, 88; avoids military escort, **4:** 161, 191; bill for opening navigation of the Potomac, **2:** 60 n; birthday, **4:** 252, 252 n, 271 n. *See also* Alexandria, *also* Philadelphia; borrows money, **4:** 7; burgess services, etc., **1:** 163 n, 178 n, 184 n, 194 n, 199 n, 202 n, 212, 230 n, 235 n, 236 n, 301, 301 n, 323 n, 344, 350 n, 379 n; **2:** 25 n, 26 n, 43, 43 n, 55, 55 n, 56, 56 n, 157; bust, **2:** 419, 419 n, 420; chair (chaise), **1:** 156; chairman Fairfax meeting, **2:** 157 n; Christmas at sea, **1:** 29; camps in rain, **2:** 306; clothes, **1:** 273 n; **4:** 68; colonel, Virginia regiment, **1:** 81 n; commissioner on jurisdiction over Potomac, **2:** 352 n; commander in chief, **2:** 199 n; on committees of Continental Congress, **2:** 196, 196 n, 198, 198 n, 199; on committees of Virginia Association, **1:** 325 n, 379, 382, 383, 384; conduct approved by Dinwiddie, **1:** 81; convinced he would be chosen President, **4:** 7; death, **4:** 320 n; diary, **1:** 72; **2:** 205; delivers letter to French commandant, **1:** 58; delivers letter from French commandant, **1:** 67; described, **2:** 195 n; **4:** 442 n; ejects squatters, **2:** 313; estimate of distances on the Ohio, **1:** 446 n; experience in a backwoods bed, **1:** 5; disposition of shares in Potomac and James River companies, **2:** 376 n; financial stringency, **1:** 130; **4:** 7; fires first shot from American battery at Yorktown, **2:** 264 n; friendship with Bryan Fairfax, **1:** 131 n; friendship with Gage, **2:** 113 n; "First in War, First in Peace," etc., **2:** 192 n; first Indian war dance, **1:** 7; first sweetheart, **1:** 387 n; funeral, **1:** 327 n, 377 n; a godfather, **1:** 309 n, 327, 327 n, 328; goods received, **1:** 312; guide for, **2:** 194 n; harness, **2:** 198 n; height, **4:** 151 n; house in Alexandria, *see* Alexandria; houses in Washington, *see* Washington City; illnesses, **1:** 256, 345; **3:** 109, 110, 111; **4:** 36, 36 n, 129, 129 n, 283, 283 n, 320 n; Indian escort, **1:** 51, 54; Indian name of, **1:** 79, 79 n; Indians delay journey, **1:** 53; **2:** 290; last writing, **4:** 320 n; lieutenant general, **4:** 280 n; letter to "dear friend Robin," **1:** 387 n; lost, **1:** 12; not a Marshal of France, **2:** 339 n; measures to mislead the French, **1:** 101; memorandum books missing, **1:** 145 n; meeting with Mrs. Martha Custis, **1:** 156 n; **2:** 18 n; meets Lord Fairfax, **1:** 2; at militia muster, **1:** 372, 372 n; miniature for Mrs. Washington, **2:** 65 n; **4:** 14; money received from Virginia Treasurer, **2:** 163 n; mourning purchased, **3:** 160 n; objects to London tobacco sales, **1:** 273 n; observes Sunday in tenant business, **2:** 294; observes Sunday in traveling, **4:** 50; obtains signatures to Non-Importation agreement, **1:** 389; opinion of Non-Importation agreement, **1:** 392 n; opinion of

French publication of his diary, **1:** 72; opinion adverse to French council of war, **2:** 224; opinion on fort site at Ohio forks, **1:** 44, 45; orders to, **1:** 73, 73 n; plow devised by, **1:** 140 n, 142; plantation inspections interfered with by weather, **2:** 52, 53, 54, 68; **3:** 164; portraits, **4:** 37; *see* Gülager, Christian; Pine, Robert Edge; Peale, Charles Willson; Savage, Edward; Stuart, Gilbert; Trumbull, John; pistol holsters, **2:** 198 n; president of Potomac Company, **2:** 376; Presidential term, U.S., **4:** 253 n; proportion of expense of Virginia delegates to Congress, **2:** 159 n; purchases 'Farmers Letters,' **1:** 325 n; purchases made in Philadelphia, **2:** 169 n; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95; rank disputed by British officer, **1:** 81 n; requests military escort, **2:** 260 n; returns to Virginia on foot, **1:** 64, 64 n; robbed, **1:** 32; riding gait in travelling, **2:** 289; seasick, **1:** 29; secretary, **1:** 345 n; **2:** 385, 393; *see also* Craik, George Washington; Dandridge, Bartholomew; Jackson, William; Lewis, Robert; Lear, Tobias; Shaw, William; shot at by Indian, **1:** 64, 64 n; smallpox attack, **1:** 22 n, 25; supplies for Mount Vernon, **1:** 273, 273 n; supplies slave labor for Dismal Swamp Company, **1:** 189 n; surveys, *see* Surveys; sword and belt, **2:** 197 n; teeth, **2:** 59 n; tent on fire, **1:** 9; threatened, **1:** 163; tobacco, **1:** 165 n, 166 n, 167, 167 n, 168, 169, 170; trustee of Alexandria, **1:** 364, 364 n; uniform equipment, **2:** 148 n; unused to walking, **1:** 64 n; watch, **2:** 11 n; winnings in Byrd's lottery, **1:** 298 n; will, **1:** 191 n; witness in law suit, **3:** 316, 434, 443.

Washington, Mrs. George (Martha Dandridge Custis), **1:** 109 n, 154, 257, 278, 298 n, 299; **2:** 133, 229, 264, 266, 290, 299, 328, 334, 336, 342, 343, 348, 353, 354, 362, 371, 375, 378, 385, 385 n, 388, 389, 391, 397 n; **2:** 4, 5, 15, 20, 29, 33, 40 n, 50, 55 n, 59 n, 63, 70, 71, 74, 76, 77, 84, 84 n, 86, 90, 103 n, 104 n, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 123, 128, 130, 147, 150, 152, 153, 154 n, 161, 173, 174, 186, 187, 328 n, 393, 405, 406, 409, 412, 434; **3:** 8, 9, 12, 26, 59, 101, 121, 128, 129, 136, 169, 280, 316, 319, 388, 447; **4:** 19, 51, 52, 66, 234, 254 n, 281, 320 n; at church, **1:** 161; **2:** 5, 45, 107, 109, 126, 133, 141, 186; clothing and shoes for, **1:** 273 n; dressmaking for, **2:** 75, 75 n; drives with Washington, *see* Driving; effect of Patsy Custis' death on, **2:** 116; godmother, **1:** 327, 327 n; illness, **1:** 107, 108, 109, 151; **3:** 61; **4:** 312, 314; message to Washington, **1:** 345; pocket book for, **2:** 169 n; at theater, **1:** 292; receptions as President's wife, and visitors to, **4:** 13, 18, 27 n, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 61, 65, 68, 71, 73, 83, 87, 91, 92, 94, 102, 110, 111, 113, 115, 125, 128, 134, 136, 141; ward, **1:** 333 n; Washington's portrait for, **2:** 65 n; **4:** 14, 137, 137 n.

Washington, Mrs. Mary (Ball), **1:** 115 n; illness, **3:** 205; income paid her by Washington, **2:** 190; management of plantation, **2:** 33, 33 n, 36; money given her by Washington, **1:** 356 n, 365 n; **2:** 55 n, 60 n, 79 n, 88 n, 128 n, 132 n, 151 n, 159 n; **3:** 49 n; riding chair and cloak purchased for her by Washington, **2:** 169; Washington's gratuity to servant at, **2:** 189 n; Washington visits, **1:** 115, 315, 315 n, 351, 356, 365, 379, 391, 392; **2:** 15, 27, 29, 33, 34, 36, 55 n, 60, 79, 132, 189 n, 371, 372; **3:** 49, 49 n, 205; Washington's last visit to, **4:** 7; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **1:** 389; **3:** 366.

Washington, George Augustine, **1:** 334 n, 335; **2:** 147 n, 377, 377 n, 379, 382–83, 384, 386, 417, 419; 423 n, 426, 433, 434, 445, 450, 451, 451 n, 452, 456; **3:** 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 47, 55, 60, 61, 68, 70, 76, 90, 99, 101, 105, 111, 121, 124, 125, 126, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 147, 148, 160, 160 n, 166,

168, 177, 212, 212 n, 238, 241, 295, 296, 301, 309, 311, 346, 352, 379, 453; **4:** 5, 239 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 387, 388, 417, 434; **3:** 36, 59, 74, 79, 124, 143, 165, 167, 171, 264, 269, 303, 339, 381; fox hunting with Washington, **4:** 452, 455; health, **2:** 375; land near Mount Vernon, **3:** 167; marriage, **2:** 423, 424; Mount Vernon management explained to, **3:** 211, 213; overseer at Mount Vernon, **2:** 429 n; papers a room at Mount Vernon, **3:** 113; returns from West Indies, **2:** 375; Washington advises as to location of his house, **3:** 431; Washington wishes him to live at Mount Vernon after his marriage, **2:** 424 n; Washington visits, **3:** 431.

Washington, Mrs. George Augustine (Frances Bassett), **3:** 59, 70, 72, 115, 126, 180, 241; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 72, 242, 356; marriage, **2:** 423, 424; child, **3:** 192, 204.

Washington, George Corbin, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 166.

Washington, George Steptoe, **2:** 28 n, 344 n; **4:** 306 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 344, 385, 461; **3:** 120, 191, 266, 268, 269, 275, 288, 302, 305, 408, 409; **4:** 285, 306; debts in Georgetown, **3:** 6 n, 7 n; school for, **2:** 446, 450.

Washington, Hannah, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 77.

Washington, Henry, **4:** 298 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 298.

Washington, Jane, **2:** 426 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 115.

Washington, John, 'the Emigrant,' **1:** 79 n.

Washington, John, the Washington and Spencer patent, **1:** 320 n.

Washington, John, of Dismal Swamp, Washington at, **1:** 296, 296 n.

Washington, John, of Stafford, **2:** 115 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 115.

Washington, Mrs. John (Catherine Whiting), **1:** 296 n.

Washington, John, **4:** 298 n.

Washington, John Augustine, **1:** 145, 145 n, 177, 185 n, 269 n, 270, 326 n; **2:** 66, 186 n, 352, 357, 426; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 161, 162, 299, 366, 367; **2:** 3, 21, 51, 68, 89, 115, 132, 133, 149, 174, 192, 193, 384, 385, 405, 426, 427; **3:** 58, 59, 123, 160; **4:** 156 n; death, **3:** 160; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 300; wife, **2:** 56 n; land on Youghiogheny, **1:** 408; Washington visits, **1:** 269, 270; 285; Washington with, **2:** 55.

Washington, Mrs. John Augustine (Hannah Bushrod) — Mrs. Washington, of Bushfield — **1:** 145 n, 270, 321; **3:** 456, 457; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 282, 286, 307, 312.

Washington, John Augustine (son of Corbin), **2:** 145.

Washington, Lawrence (half-brother of George Washington), **1:** 2, 12 n, 22 n, 36 n, 136 n; death, **1:** 27 n; health, **1:** 16, 22, 26 n, 35; journey to Barbadoes, **1:** 16, journey to Bermuda, **1:** 26 n; and Mount Vernon, **1:** 129 n; estate, **1:** 138 n.

Washington, Mrs. Lawrence (Ann Fairfax), **1:** 2.

Washington, Lawrence, of Belmont, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 273.

Washington, Lawrence, of Chotank, **1:** 251 n, 270, 285, 290 n, 349, 366, 372 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 258; **2:** 3, 393, 432; **3:** 22, 89, 90, 134, 456; **4:** 273; Washington visits, **2:** 19, 20, 25, 104.

Washington, Lawrence, Jr., **3:** 89, 90; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 393.

Washington, Lawrence, of Fairfax County, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 22, 23.

Washington, Lawrence (brother of Lund), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 51.

Washington, Mrs. Lawrence, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 315.

Washington, Lawrence (nephew of George Washington), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 445; **3:** 120, 191, 288, 409; debts in Georgetown, **3:** 6 n, 7 n; school for, **2:** 446, 450.

Washington, Lund, **1:** 251 n, 258, 367; **2:** 34, 51 n, 140, 188, 366, 367, 383, 388, 411, 445, 456; **3:** 7, 27, 55, 60,

131, 150, 155, 289, 293, 381, 444; **4:** 301 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 230, 392, 393, 432, 456, 459; **3:** 3, 22, 23, 27, 28, 36, 43, 65, 96, 110, 123, 133, 141, 156, 163, 168, 186, 310, 317, 444; **4:** 3, 5, 282; child, **2:** 409; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 251, 257, 258, 283, 295, 308, 361; **2:** 44, 100, 126, 274, 455; land, **1:** 408, 449; **2:** 342, 343; manager of Mount Vernon, **1:** 251 n; Washington at, **2:** 343, 431; **3:** 369; Washington and Mrs. Washington at, **3:** 101, 280; Mrs. Washington at, **3:** 121.

Washington, Mrs. Lund (Elizabeth Foot), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 423, 424; **4:** 266, 269, 278, 301, 302.

Washington, L., of King George, **4:** 257.

Washington, L——, **1:** 303.

Washington, Mildred (Milly), at Mount Vernon, **2:** 426.

Washington, Needham, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 309.

Washington, Polly, at Mount Vernon, **1:** 372; **2:** 51.

Washington, Richard, of London, Washington's tobacco shipped to, **1:** 167 n.

Washington, Richard, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 174, 181.

Washington, Robert, **2:** 393; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 134.

Washington, Robert, of Chotank, **1:** 251 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 432; Washington visits, **2:** 431.

Washington, Samuel, **1:** 114 n, 115, 115 n, 159, 159 n, 400 n, 404 n; **2:** 144 n; **3:** 27 n, 100 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 366, 367, 396, 397; **2:** 103, 124, 125; child, **1:** 285, 285 n; fishing with Washington, **1:** 396; land on Youghiogheny, **1:** 408; Washington visits, **1:** 156, 156 n, 270, 285, 290, 400, 404, 450, 452; **2:** 9, 66, 144, 362.

Washington, Mrs. Samuel (Jane Champe), **1:** 114 n; **3:** 431.

Washington, Samuel, of Chotank, **2:** 28 n.

Washington, Samuel (nephew of George Washington), at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259; loan to, **4:** 259 n.

Washington, Sarah, **2:** 186 n.

Washington, Thomas, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 393.

Washington, Thornton, **3:** 27 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 27.

Washington, Townsend, **1:** 251 n.

Washington, Warner, **1:** 141 n, 296, 296 n; **2:** 66, 280 n, 313, 327; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 314, 315, 318, 321, 322, 328, 361, 362, 398, 399, 400; **2:** 41, 42, 71, 72, 103, 108, 149; fox hunting with Washington, **1:** 314; Washington visits, **1:** 339, 340, 344; **2:** 10, 66, 171, 362; wife of, **1:** 190, 296 n; visits Washington at Berkeley, **2:** 280.

Washington, Mrs. Warner (Hannah Fairfax), **1:** 327, 376, 376 n, 378; **2:** 109 n; **4:** 314 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 326, 376, 377, 378; **2:** 108, 109, 110; **4:** 314, 319.

Washington, Warner, Jr., dines with Washington, **1:** 341.

Washington, Whiting, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 319.

Washington, William (nephew of George Washington), **2:** 192 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 192.

Washington, William (half-brother of George Washington), **2:** 426 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 426, 427.

Washington, William, colonel, **2:** 377; 53, 54; **4:** 169, 169 n, 176, 311 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 311, 312; letter to, **2:** 377 n; Washington visits, **4:** 174, 175, 312.

Washington, William Augustine, **2:** 427 n; **3:** 24; **4:** 259 n.

Washington, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 260.

Washington, Mrs. ——, at Mount Vernon, **4:** 259.

Washington children (John Parke Custis and Martha Custis), **1:** 354. *See also* under their names.

Washington, ship, **4:** 114.

Washington influenza, Boston, **4:** 36 n.

Washington manuscripts, in the possession of Jared Sparks, **2**: 382 n.
Washington County, Pennsylvania, **2**: 298; exposed to Indian raids, **4**: 103; insurrection (Whiskey Rebellion) in, **4**: 209 n, 212; Washington in, **2**: 293; Washington's land in, **3**: 142 n, 210, 210 n; squatters on Washington's lands, **2**: 297–99, 313; evictions, **2**: 299 n.
Washington and Lee University, **2**: 376 n.
Watauga region, **4**: 126 n.
Watch, Washington's, **2**: 11 n.
Waterbury, David, brigadier general, **2**: 231, 231 n, 233, 242, 243.
Watermelons, **3**: 342, 343, 357, 363, 368.
Watertown, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4**: 47, 48.
Waters, ——, **1**: 189 n.
Wathing, Edward, **2**: 99, 99 n, 100.
Watson, Josiah, **2**: 4 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 4, 25.
Watson, Josiah, & Co., of Alexandria, **3**: 55.
Watson, Elkanah, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 336, 336 n, 337.
Watson, ——, of England, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 300.
Watson & Coussoul, **2**: 336, 336 n.
Wax works, Washington visits, **2**: 87 n.
'Way to get Married,' The, play attended by Washington, **4**: 252 n.
Wayles, ——, barley from, **3**: 445.
Wayne, Anthony, major general, **2**: 215 n, 246, 254, 271, 272, 317 n; **4**: 177, 177 n; "Mad Anthony," **4**: 177 n; victory at Fallen Timbers, **4**: 140, 140 n, 210, 210 n; victory at Jamestown Ford, **2**: 245, 245 n.
Waynesborough, Georgia, **4**: 179; Washington at, **4**: 178.
Weather, **1**: 223, 224, 225, 226, 235, 236, 248, 249, 250, 259, 260, 266, 287, 288; **2**: 209, 211, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254; **4**: 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 269, 297, 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 319, 320; record, **1**: xi, 288 n; **4**: 256, 283.
Weathersfield (Wethersfield), Connecticut, **4**: 27 n; conference between Washington and Rochambeau at, **2**: 213, 216, 217, 224, 240, 247; Washington at, **2**: 217; **4**: 27.
Weaver, **1**: 362 n.
Webb, George, **3**: 50.
Webb, Isaac, indentured servant, **2**: 183 n.
Webb, Joseph, Weathersfield, Connecticut, Washington at, **2**: 217.
Webb's tavern, Stamford, **4**: 22 n; Washington at, **4**: 22.
Webb's Ordinary, Virginia, Washington at, **1**: 269.
Webster, Noah, **2**: 377 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 377, 378, 432.
Webster's, ——, Maryland, Washington at, **4**: 234, 237, 239, 241, 254, 288, 290.
Weedon, George, Fredericksburg, **1**: 315 n; **3**: 366; meeting of Virginia officers at, **1**: 391; at Mount Vernon, **1**: 320, 321; Washington at, **1**: 315, 391; **2**: 39, 55, 79, 87, 151, 189 n, 190.
Weems, Mason Locke, clergyman, **3**: 174 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 174.
Welch, James, **4**: 264 n, 286 n; applies for lease of Washington's Kanhawa lands, **4**: 264 n; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 264, 265, 286, 304.
Welford, ——, physician, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 279, 305.
Well, at Mount Vernon barn, **3**: 389, 389 n, 391, 392, 393.
Well, dry, fixed for ice house, **2**: 428, 430.
West, Benjamin, **2**: 64 n.
West, Charles, **1**: 12 n, 317 n, 333 n, 337 n; **2**: 171; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 79; land, **2**: 80, 90 n; Ordinary, location, **1**: 336 n; Washington at, **1**: 317, 336, 339, 344, 450, 452; **2**: 65, 171.
West, George, **1**: 110 n, **2**: 273; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 79.
West Haven, Connecticut, **4**: 51; Washington at, **4**: 24.
West, Hugh, **1**: 110 n.

West, Hugh, colonel, **2:** 79, 79 n.
West Indies, French fleet from, **2:** 220, 248, 254.
West, John, colonel, **1:** 83, 83 n, 110, 110 n, 111, 235, 235 n, 334, 334 n; **2:** 79 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 272, 321, 369, 372; **2:** 38, 79, 79 n; burgess, **1:** 301, 344; Harrison's patent, **1:** 369 n; land surveys, **1:** 372; **2:** 51, 54, 76; park purchased from, **1:** 110, 111; Washington visits, **2:** 34, 41, 51, 321, 322, 389, 393.
West, John, Jr., **1:** 110 n, 273 n; purchases pew in Alexandria church, **2:** 95.
West, John, captain, **3:** 45.
West Point, New York, **2:** 211, 219, 228, 235, 252, 253; invalid garrison for, **2:** 227; purchase by United States, **4:** 134 n, 136, 137; Washington at, **2:** 215.
West Point, Virginia, Washington at, **1:** 382 n.
West, Richard, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 25.
West, Roger, **1:** 110 n; **3:** 331, 331 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 180, 289, 345, 408; burgess, **4:** 275 n; Washington and Mrs. Washington visit, **3:** 319; Washington votes for, **4:** 275.
West, Mrs. Roger (neé Macrae), at Mount Vernon, **3:** 391.
West, Thomas, **1:** 12 n.
West, Thomas, **2:** 145, 145 n; Washington visits, **2:** 145, 145 n; Washington votes for, **3:** 268.
West Virginia, buffalo in, **1:** 439; Washington in, **1:** 404 n, 422, 422 n, 426.
West, William, Ordinary, **1:** 3 n, 12 n, 110 n; Washington at, **1:** 12.
West, ——, clergyman, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 201.
West, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 156, 157.
West Family, **1:** 110 n; of Fairfax and Loudoun, **1:** 337 n.
West's Ordinary. *See* West, Charles.
Westchester County, New York, Washington's observations on, **4:** 21; refugees in Revolution, **2:** 231.
Western Country, feeling of inhabitants, **2:** 317; **4:** 126; letters to, **4:** 58; magistrates' oaths not taken in, **4:** 126; neglect by federal government, **4:** 125, 126; surveyor, **3:** 398; trade with, **2:** 315.
Western Lands, cessions of, **4:** 82, 82 n, 84, 111, 112, 165.
Western Posts, held by British, **2:** 326, 327; **4:** 16, 16 n, 17, 132.
Western Territory, **4:** 15; affairs, **4:** 94; trade, **2:** 325, 327.
Westfall, Abel, **3:** 44.
Westham, James River, Virginia, **2:** 272; **4:** 158.
Westmore, Joseph, mayor, **4:** 160.
Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, insurrection in, **4:** 209 n, 212.
Weston, Massachusetts, Washington at, **4:** 32, 33.
Westover, James River, Virginia, **2:** 51 n, 130 n, 224, 226; Washington at, **2:** 130.
Whale boat, Washington's, **2:** 69.
Whaley, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 57, 58.
Wharton, Joseph, Jr., **2:** 167 n; Washington visits, **2:** 167.
Wharton, Samuel, **1:** 405 n; **2:** 167 n.
Wharton, Thomas, **2:** 102 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 102.
Wheat, **1:** 153, 154, 158, 164, 168, 169, 187, 188, 200, 201, 203, 213, 214, 215, 216, 228, 229, 230, 238, 239, 251, 255, 261, 262, 265, 274, 275, 276, 289, 293, 297, 330, 331, 332, 334, 335, 339, 346, 347, 351, 386, 390, 394, 399; **2:** 4, 28, 31, 32, 72, 73, 76, 77, 81, 367, 374, 375, 404, 405, 406, 409, 426, 428, 431; **3:** 31, 71, 73, 82, 87, 88, 98, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 144, 148, 152, 170, 171, 174, 177, 179, 181, 184, 187, 222, 239, 240, 242, 243, 247, 252, 256, 258, 260, 262, 264, 270, 277, 281, 282, 294, 313, 327, 330, 344, 347, 359, 363, 364, 369, 370, 371, 372, 381, 386, 396, 398, 399, 400, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415,

416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 424, 427, 428, 429, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 442, 443, 446, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456; barrel sowing, **3**: 256, 257; Cape of Good Hope, **2**: 12, 408, 409, 410, 426, 431, 451; **3**: 4, 31, 38, 52, 57, 66, 113, 159, 195, 210, 383, 415, 417; comment on cutting, **1**: 281, 282; effect of a wet June, **1**: 395; experiment, **2**: 451; **3**: 4, 40, 41, 42, 108, grinding, **2**: 12, 15; harvest, **1**: 171, 185, 186, 215, 216, 226, 227, 239, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 288, 289, 293, 332, 333, 334, 337, 338, 389, 390; **2**: 27, 28, 387, 405; **3**: 89, 90, 91, 93, 97, 99, 101, 104, 144, 146, 382, 383, 385, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394; **4**: 257; Washington's plan of harvest, **3**: 91–93; injured, **1**: 262, 274, 275, 279, 281; **3**: 77, 282, 311 n, 370; injured by bug, **2**: 405; injured by Hessian fly, **3**: 96; purchased, **2**: 429; rust, or speck, **1**: 275, 281, 330, 331; **2**: 24, 31, 31 n; **3**: 371, 372, 373; Siberian, **3**: 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 53, 59, 63, 64, 69; sown on snow, **3**: 50; threshing or treading, **1**: 250, 288; **2**: 63, 117, 119, 124, 125; **3**: 90, 93, 94, 129, 135, 145, 149, 242, 254, 263, 279, 280, 404, 419, 434, 442, 450, 452, 453, 454; sold, **1**: 253, 255, 262.

Wheeler, ——, near Great Falls, Washington at, **3**: 10, 424.

Wheeling, West Virginia, **1**: 416 n; **2**: 282.

Wheeling Creek, West Virginia, **1**: 409, 409 n, 416 n, 418.

Wheeling (Weeling) Indian Creek, Ohio, **1**: 416, 416 n, 451.

Wheelock, Eleazer, **4**: 52.

Wheelock, John, **4**: 52.

Wheelwright, from England, **3**: 137.

Whiskey Insurrection, **1**: xix; **4**: 159, 209–23, 213; Washington meets insurgents' committee, **4**: 213, 214, 215. *See also* Pennsylvania, Insurrection in.

Whitbey, John, **3**: 215 n.

Whitbey, Mrs. Mary, **3**: 215 n; Washington at, **3**: 215.

White, Alexander, **4**: 62, 73, 91, 91 n, 128, 235 n; apprehension of results of neglect of the western country, **4**: 125; at Mount Vernon, **4**: 283, 287, 301, 304, 306, 311, 313, 317; **4**: 264, 277, 277 n, 284.

White, Anthony Walton, **3**: 156 n; **4**: 110 n, 217, 217 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 156, 157; Washington visits, **4**: 110.

White, Charles, physician, **4**: 88.

White, Rosannah, widow, **4**: 288 n; Washington at, **4**: 288.

White, William, clergyman, **3**: 224; **4**: 289 n; Washington at, **4**: 289.

White fish, **1**: 152, 267. 323.

White House (Lord Fairfax's), **2**: 338; Washington fishes off, **2**: 74, 118.

White Mingo, Indian chief, speech to Washington, **1**: 410, 411.

White Oak Springs, Pennsylvania, **2**: 288 n.

White Thunder, Indian, **1**: 54, 63.

Whitelaw, James, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 122.

Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, **3**: 233 n; Washington visits, **3**. 233.

Whiting, Catherine. *See* Washington, Mrs. Warner.

Whiting, Diana, **1**: 139.

Whiting, Francis, **1**: 247, 247 n.

Whiting, Henry, **1**: 247 n.

Whiting, Henry, tenant, **2**: 280 n.

Whiting, Matthew, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 380, 382.

Whiting, ——, of Berkeley, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 430.

Whiting, ——, at Mount Vernon, **1**: 369.

Whiting, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 71, 77, 188.

Whiting, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 281.

Whiting, ——, **3**: 56.

Whyte, William, sea captain, **1**: 114.

Wickerman's Mill, near Monongahela River, Washington at, **2**: 298.

Wickoff, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 297.

Wignell, Thomas, **4**: 250 n.

Wilderness Trail, The, cited, **1**: 61 n.
Wildernesses, Mount Vernon, **2**: 334, 334 n, 351, 353, 354, 373, 442, 454; **3**: 10, 12; walk, **2**: 350, 351.
Wiley's tavern, Virginia, Washington at, **4**: 317, 317 n.
Williams, Edward, tenant, **1**: 167, 167 n; **2**: 88, 88 n.
Williams, Elie, **4**: 222 n.
Williams, John, tenant, **2**: 457 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 457.
Williams, Jonathan, **3**: 197 n; at Mount Vernon, **3**: 197.
Williams, Otho Holland, brigadier general, **2**: 339, 339 n; letter to, **2**: 339 n.
Williams, Thomas, **1**: 334 n, 337, 338.
Williams, ——, of Alexandria, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 367.
Williams, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2**: 446.
Williams, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 388.
Williams, overseer in Neck, **3**: 175.
Williams' Bridge, Bronx River, New York, **2**: 242, 242 n.
Williams Gap (later Snickers'), Blue Ridge Mountains, **1**: 4 n, 336 n; Washington at, **1**: 12, 12 n, 340 n, 400 n.
Williams' ferry, Pamunky River, Washington at, **1**: 156 n.
Williams' Ferry, Shenandoah River, Washington at, **1**: 340 n.
Williamsburg, Maryland, **4**: 201 n; Washington at, **4**: 201.
Williamsburg, Virginia, **1**: 45, 268, 387; **2**: 15 n, 61, 234; allied armies at, **2**: 261, 262; Associators' meeting in Capitol, **1**: 384; balls at Capitol, **1**: 355, 382; **2**: 57, 85; fireworks, **2**: 40, 154, 154 n; mayor, **1**: 297; Palace, Washington at, **1**: 324, 355, 379; **2**: 57; Queen's birthnight celebration at, **1**: 325, 326 n; Washington's journeys to and from and presence in, **1**: 35, 40, 43, 155, 155 n, 157, 188 n, 266, 267, 295, 296, 297, 298, 322, 324, 325, 326, 327, 350, 350 n, 351, 352, 352–56, 378, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385; **2**: 15, 15 n, 16, 19 n, 25, 26, 27, 38, 39, 39 n, 40, 43, 55, 56, 57, 58, 84, 84 n, 85, 68, 87, 87 n, 103, 104, 128, 128 n, 129, 130, 131, 132, 151, 152, 153, 154, 158, 158 n, 159, 260, 261; Mrs. Washington's journeys to, **2**: 38 n, 84, 84 n, 86, 103 n, 128, 151, 152; Washington's expenses, **2**: 26 n, 59 n, 132 n.
Williamson, Benjamin, **1**: 166 n.
Williamson, David, gardens, **4**: 18 n; Washington at, **4**: 18.
Williamson, Hugh, physician, **4**: 85, 85 n, 111.
Williamson, ——, overseer, **1**: 118, 118 n.
Williamson's Island, Ohio River, **1**: 420 n.
Williamson's Quarter, **1**: 121, 124, 164, 167 n.
Williamsport, Maryland, **4**: 219; Washington at, **4**: 218, 219.
Willard, Joseph, **4**: 37 n, 39, 60 n.
Willett, Marinus, colonel, brings McGillivray and Creek chiefs to Washington, **4**: 95, 95 n, 132; consultation with Washington, **4**: 95; instructions, **4**: 96, 133.
Willing, Richard, **2**: 195 n, 196 n; Washington at, **2**: 195, 196.
Willing, Thomas, **2**: 164 n; **3**: 107, 107 n; **4**: 288 n; Washington visits, **2**: 168; **3**: 219; **4**: 288.
Willing's Alley, Philadelphia, **2**: 196 n.
Willing & Morris, **2**: 165 n.
Willis, Francis, colonel, **2**: 67 n, 103 n; **3**: 366; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 67, 78, 103, 127, 128; Washington visits, **2**: 115.
Willis, Francis, Jr., **2**: 49 n, 160 n; **3**: 430 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 49, 118, 123, 160, 171, 173, 174; sells Washington's negroes, **3**: 431; letter, **3**: 431 n.
Willis, ——, of Loudoun, **2**: 53.
Willis, ——, **2**: 66.
Willow Island, Ohio River, **1**: 420 n.
Willows, weeping, **3**: 31, 33, 318, 326, 329, 346, 349, 351, 440; at Mount Vernon gate, **3**: 28, 29, 30.

Wills Creek (Cumberland, Maryland), **1:** 67, 73 n; 401 n; **2:** 281 n, 284 n, 287, 311; council of war at, **1:** 76; Washington's retreat to **1:** 105.
Wilmans, Henrick, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 444, 445; sends a gardener to Washington, **3:** 444 n.
Wilmington, Delaware, **2:** 111, 195; **3:** 215, 237; **4:** 149, 229, 234, 237, 239, 242; **4:** 254, 288, 290.
Wilmington, North Carolina, **4:** 171; expedition against, **2:** 270, 271; Washington at, **4:** 166, 167, 168.
Wilson, James, Signer, **2:** 390 n; **4:** 83, 83 n, 85, 109; sends information of Pennsylvania insurrection to Washington, **4:** 209 n; Washington's letter to, **2:** 390.
Wilson, Joseph, **1:** 333.
Wilson, Mary, housekeeper, **1:** 302.
Wilson, Nathaniel, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 192.
Wilson, Robert, **1:** 126, 126 n.
Wilson, William, **2:** 455 n; **4:** 281; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 455; **4:** 258, 259, 264, 280.
Wilson, ——, of Alexandria (?), at Mount Vernon, **3:** 269.
Wilson, ——, of New Jersey, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 210.
Wilson, ——, **2:** 46, 51; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 364; **3:** 13, 14, 70, 128; **4:** 291.
Wilson's Island, Ohio River, **1:** 420 n.
Wilton, James River, Virginia, **2:** 224, 224 n; Washington at, **2:** 190, 191.
Winchester (formerly Frederick), Virginia, **1:** 5, 81, 86, 88, 90, 91, 127, 149, 340, 397, 450; **2:** 3; British prisoners sent to, **2:** 269, 269 n, 270, 270 n, 272; Virginia officers' meeting at, **2:** 9; Washington at, **1:** 6, 12, 43, 73 n; **2:** 9; Washington on way to, **1:** 159.
Winchester Road, **1:** 4 n, 400 n; **2:** 280, 287.
Windham, Connecticut, **2:** 228, 228 n.
Windsor, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 28.
Wine, **1:** 6, 162.
Wingate, Paine, **4:** 42, 42 n, 66, 94, 128, 140; dines with Washington, **4:** 43.
Winlaw's threshing machine, **4:** 72.
Winslow, ——, lieutenant, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 91.
Winslow's, ——, Virginia, Washington at, **2:** 372.
Winzor, Joseph, tenant, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 457.
Wise's Mill. *See* Turner's Mill.
Wise's tavern, Georgetown, Washington at, **3:** 202, 399; **4:** 237 n, 239.
Wisom, ——, Virginia, Washington at, **4:** 192, 192 n.
Withey, Mrs. Mary, Chester, Washington at, **4:** 149, 234 n, 239.
Woelpper, John David, **2:** 106 n; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 106, 123, 190.
Wolcott, Oliver, lieutenant governor, **4:** 24, 24 n, 25 n, 58, 58 n, 113, 228 n; Washington visits, **4:** 288.
Wolf, ——, widow, **1:** 10.
Womelderfs, ——, Pennsylvania, Washington at, **4:** 211.
Wood, James, **1:** 341 n; dines with Washington, **1:** 341.
Wood, James, colonel, **4:** 60 n.
Wood, William, chain bearer for Washington, **1:** 316 n.
Wood, ——, captain, ship launched, **2:** 63; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 187.
Wood, clearing, **1:** 254.
Wood, firewood for Christmas, **2:** 458.
Wood Creek, New York, **2:** 324.
Woodbridge, East Hartford, Washington at, **4:** 50.
Woodford, Catesby, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 188.
Woodhull, Abraham, **2:** 208, 208 n; letter from, **2:** 221.
Woodlands, Philadelphia, **2:** 168 n.
Woodorf, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 144.
Woodrop, Robert, **1:** 185 n.
Woodrow, ——, dines with Washington, **1:** 341, 343.
Woodville, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 359.

Woodward, Augustus, **4:** 264 n; at Mount Vernon, **4:** 264, 269.
Woodware, purchased, **1:** 134.
Wool card manufactory, Boston, Washington visits, **4:** 38.
Wooldridge, ——, at Mount Vernon, **3:** 13, 14.
Woolen manufactory, Hartford, **4:** 28; Washington visits and orders a suit and cloth from, **4:** 27.
Worcester, Massachusetts, militia salute Washington, **4:** 32; Washington at, **4:** 31.
Wormeley, John, **2:** 34, 34 n, 53; at Mount Vernon, **2:** 34, 36.
Wormeley, ——, colonel, **2:** 34 n.
Wormley, Ralph, **1:** 328 n; **2:** 280 n, 402, 402 n; at Mount Vernon, **1:** 328; visits Washington in Berkeley, **2:** 280.
Woromonroke plantation, purchased by Washington, **2:** 129 n, 130, 130 n.
Worrell, Thomas, Kent County, Maryland, **4:** 150 n; Washington at, **4:** 150.
Worthington, Robert, **1:** 404 n.
Worthington, ——, colonel, **4:** 29.
Worthington, Connecticut, Washington at, **4:** 51.
Worthington's Marsh, near Winchester, Virginia, **1:** 404.
Wray, George, **4:** 122 n.
Wray, James (Jacob), **4:** 122 n.
Wren, Thomas, colonel, **3:** 378 n; at Mount Vernon, **3:** 378.
Wren, ——, of Fairfax, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 91.
Wright, John, **2:** 114 n.
Wright, Robert, **1:** 202.
Wright, ——, **1:** 139 n.
Wright's Ferry, Pennsylvania, **2:** 114 n; Washington at, **2:** 114; **4:** 203.
Wyatt, ——, at Mount Vernon, **2:** 382.
Wylie, ——, captain, **1:** 167 n.
Wynkoop, Cornelius, **4:** 128, 140.
Wynkoop, Henry, **4:** 71, 71 n, 102.
Wynnsborough, South Carolina, **4:** 182.
Wythe, George, **1:** 147, 147 n, 163, 163 n; **3:** 212 n, 219; Washington dines with, **1:** 324; Washington visits, **1:** 352, 355.

X Y Z

'X. Y. Z.' affair, **4:** 171 n, 283 n.
Yadkin River, North Carolina, Washington crosses, **4:** 186.
Yale College, **4:** 24, 24 n.
Yates, Charles, potato experiment, **3:** 210, 211.
Yazoo Company, **4:** 157; frauds, **4:** 157 n.
Yazoo River, **4:** 81.
Yazoo lands, **4:** 125 n. *See also under* Georgia.
Yearly, ——, widow, Washington at, **2:** 316.
Yeates, Jasper, **4:** 209 n.
Yellow Creek, Ohio, **1:** 413, 413 n, 444.
Yew trees, **2:** 355.
York, Pennsylvania, **4:** 201, 203; address to Washington, **4:** 203, 203 n; Washington at, **4:** 114, 202, 203.
York County, Virginia, Washington's dower lands in, **1:** 165, 172, 325, 326.
York River, Virginia, **2:** 255; produce received from, **1:** 149; **3:** 29, 35, 200, 206, 341, 346; Washington at, **1:** 323 n.
Yorke, Charles, chancellor, **2:** 95 n; opinion on Indian land titles, **2:** 95.
Yorktown, Virginia, **1:** 111; campaign, **1:** xviii, capitulation, **2:** 223 n, 231 n, 240, 268 n, 269, 269 n; capitulation articles, **2:** 269, 269 n; Cornwallis fortifying at, **2:** 255; siege of, **2:** 262–69; losses, **2:** 263, 266, 270 n; strength of American and French forces, **2:** 270 n; Washington at, **1:** 325, 326; **2:** 58 n, 273.
Youghiogheny (Yohiogany, Yaughyaughane, etc.) River, Pennsylvania, **1:** 66, 409, 410, 442, 452; **2:** 138 n, 281, 281 n, 284, 285, 288, 300, 306,

308, 315, 320, 321, 328; country described by Washington, **1**: 407, 408, 409; falls, **2**: 321; Glades, **2**: 303, 306, 307, 311; Great Crossing, **1**: 401, 401 n, 407 n, 449; **2**: 281 n; meaning of name, **1**: 408 n; Washington at, **1**: 83, 84, 401, 401 n, 407, 449; **2**: 288, 308, the Washington lands on, **1**: 408; **2**: 122 n.
Young, Abraham, **4**: 199 n.
Young, Arthur, of England, **3**: 174, 176, 182, 183, 200, 260, 311, 313, 313 n, 314, 327; annals, **3**: 201; letters to, **3**: 138 n, 444 n.
Young, George, **2**: 138 n; at Mount Vernon, **2**: 138.
Young, Hugh, of Maryland, **3**: 341.
Young, Notley, **4**: 199 n.
Young, William, **4**: 199 n.
Young, ——, Oyster Bay, Washington at, **4**: 119.
Young, ——, farmer, at Mount Vernon, **3**: 187.
Young, ——, captain, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 281.
Young, ——, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 6; Washington at, **4**: 186.
Young, Mrs. ——, cakes for Washington's election ball, **2**: 43.
Yrujo, Don Carlos Martinez de, at Mount Vernon, **4**: 262 n.

Zenger, John Peter, trial, **2**: 166 n.

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